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VOL. XIII. No. 42.

CONGRESSIONAL

NEW ASPECTS OF THE TUSSE ON PANAMA.

Points of Law Debated in Congress on
the Rights of the Executive and of
Congress—The Treaty-making Power
as a Legislative and Law Enacting
Power—Colombia's Move in the Parli-
ament Strengthens the Arm of the
Opposition.

With the reconvening of Congress
after the holiday recesses, Panama has
had more than the right of way; it has
had the floor, with hardly any interrup-
tion, except for temporary interruptions
on the postal scandals, the documents on
which the Republicans are seeking to
keep from publication. Such temporary
interruptions excepted, it has all been
Panama. In the House the matter came
up sideways on a \$75,000,000 appropri-
ation for the military forces on the isth-
mus. In the Senate it has been up
squarely.

The more the question is being dis-
cussed, the more complicated it seems
to grow. But this is in seeming only.
Readers of The People, who have been
informed, as no other readers have, on
the wheels within wheels in this "Dark
Affair," will not get misled; on the con-
trary, they will be all the more en-
lightened by the steaming tangle.

It will be remembered from the facts
published in these columns under the
heading of "Congressional," that the
silk in the account of this whole Pan-
ama imbroglio is the \$400,000,000 which
the French Panama canal expects to
receive from the United States if the
Panama Canal treaty is ratified. It will
also be remembered that the said French
company has nothing to sell, neither
Panama nor effects; it has no rights to
sell because it has no self-ownership. Col-
umbia's concept, it has no effects to sell
because its effect is worthless. Finally,
it will be remembered that the Spooner
law, which the President is violating,
will be unrolled if the present Panama
treaty is ratified. The annulment of the
Spooner law annuls the appropriations
made under it, and the already suffi-
ciently arduous, if at all possible, en-
gineering task of cutting through Panama
and controlling the torrential waters of
the Chagres river will be blocked from
the start for want of appropriations to
do the work. The only appropriation
that would have a chance of getting paid
would be the \$400,000,000 to the French
company.

Now then, these various points taken
up separately in the speeches of the
Senators have developed into a series
of constitutional law issues. Six Sen-
ators—Morgan of Alabama, Lodge of
Massachusetts, Scott of West Virginia,
McCombs of Maryland, Stewart of
Nebraska and Colburn of Texas—have
spoken on the subject.

The contention on the Democratic side
is, first, that the President is waging
war against Colombia contrary to law,
seeing that only the House has the right
to declare war; secondly, that the Presi-
dent is violating the Spooner law, which
directs him to take up the Nicaragua
route in case negotiations failed with
Colombia, and that, consequently, the
President invites the Senate, as the two
legislative powers, to repeal an act
that cannot be repealed without the con-
sent of the House. On the Republican
side, Senators Lodge and Stewart have
acted as backers for the President, while
Senator Scott foreshadows a break in
the Republican ranks by the introduction
of a motion to investigate another route,
the Darien route, situated in Panama
but distinct from the Panama Canal.

It will be readily perceived that Sen-
ator Scott's motion must send a chill
down the backs of the corrupt French
company's lobby and of all its bribes
in Washington officialdom. The unques-
tionably bribed officials at Washington,
without whose assistance the outrage
against Colombia could never have been
perpetrated, care not for a canal, one
way or another; what they do care for
is their promised share of the \$400,000,000
swag. The French company, on the other
hand, not only cares for its lion's
share of that \$400,000,000 plunder of the
United States Treasury; it is also deep-
ly interested in leading the country into
the Panama quagmire, where a canal
is next to impossible, and, if at all pos-
sible, will not be in operation before at
least a generation—in which meantime
the French Canal Company, which has
become a railroad company, will contin-
ue to do an increasingly phenomenal
business. Obviously, the Scott motion
endangers the \$400,000,000 plunder from
reaching the fingers of this world-be-
plunderer.

But this is not all. Simultaneously

WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1904.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

WRITTEN FOR THE PEOPLE BY MRS. OLIVE M. JOHNSON.

[Note—Owing to the removal of Mrs.
Olive M. Johnson from Minneapolis,
Minn., to E. St. Louis, Ill., this serial was
unavoidably interrupted.—Editor The
People.]

A class division in society has its basis
in the status of development of the means
of production and distribution, the meth-
od of ownership of these means, and the
method of the division or distribution of
the necessities of life produced by them.
During primitive society the
rudeness and individualistic character of
the tools made it possible for each in-
dividual to be the owner and operator of
his own means of livelihood, therefore,
he was independent of his fellow men.
Yet this very rudeness of the tools and
weapons made man unable to struggle
against nature and enemies alone. Con-
sequently, the very cause which devel-
oped barbaric independence also produced
barbaric collectivism.

From the development of private prop-
erty in land and animals grew slavery
and, during ancient society, the slave was
the most important instrument of pro-
duction. Without the ownership of
slaves, the owner of property remained
a mere drudge, who could never acquire
an elevated position in society. During
ancient society, it is the wealthy slave-
holding citizens of the towns who con-
stitute the ruling class. However, to-
wards the downfall of ancient civiliza-
tion, the growing importance of the land
is plainly foreshadowed. With the in-
crease of cultivation and agriculture, land
became a great means of wealth and
power, and a most important means of
life; in fact, a foundation for a new
order of society. The institution of
slavery was shaking. The best proof of
this is the able defenses of slavery made
by writers and speakers during the lat-
ter days of the ancient world. Whenever
it becomes necessary to defend an old
and long-entrenched institution, there can-
not be much doubt but that its foundation
is weakening. Plato's Ideal Republic—
Plato's "Utopia"—bears a dream's resem-
blance to feudal Europe. It is the dream
of a mind which foreshadows the future.

Every ancient society was a veritable
site of class conflicts and antagonisms.
The priests, the warriors, the traders,
the agriculturalists, the artisans, and slave-
holding citizens, each had their own pec-
uliar interest to uphold, their own meth-
od of exploiting the exploited. However,
this crude mode of exploitation through
taxations, exactions, robbery, rapine and

murder, was culminating. It was, in
fact, working the self-destruction of an-
cient society. In none of the advanced
ancient civilizations did any lower class
work out sufficient consciousness of its
mission to be able to erect a new society
upon the ruins of the old. Babylonia,
Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome fell
whenever, in each, wealth and abusive
power had accumulated into the hands of
a very small number of the population,
and these had become so parasitic as to
actually rot in parasitism.

At the downfall of the Roman Empire
northern barbarism mingled with over-
topping, corrupted, degraded civilization,
and the result was the worst setback in
human progress which human history re-
cords. Five centuries of chaos, of dark-
ness, of destruction followed. However,
though darkness and obscurity reigned,
yet underneath the surface the germs of
progress were on developing. The peo-
ple, true to the course pointed out by
social evolution, went on attaching them-
selves to the land. Slavery, as a world
wide and dominating institution, died out
from actual lack of vitality, and when
light again burst forth in Europe, serf-
dom, as a fully developed institution, had
taken its place. The feudal system was
dominant.

However, it must be borne in mind that
feudalism developed immediately out of
chaos and disorder. The tendency of
evolution, it is true, had long pointed to
the land as the dominant social factor,
but as ancient society could not save it-
self from destruction, the process which
led to feudalism, was necessarily long,
painful and obscure. Just as to-day
every social tendency points towards co-
operation, and that the next higher so-
ciety to succeed modern capitalism must
inevitably be Socialism, nevertheless, that
does not assure us that Socialism will fol-
low in the immediate footsteps of modern
capitalism. If the workers do not pos-
sess intelligent class-consciousness
enough to erect Socialism upon the ruins
of capitalism, this higher society will
have to work its way through a degraded
system of all-powerful capitalist despotism,
of abject slavery for the working
class; yes, perhaps through absolute so-
cial chaos.

The Roman Empire crumbled to dust
utterly corrupt—financially, mentally,
morally, and physically. The invading
barbarians aided to overturn the struc-
ture. These, however, were in a manner
dazed and even overpowered by the civiliza-
tion into whose midst they came; yet,
like all less developed people under sim-

ilar circumstances, they were more apt
to adopt its vices than its virtues. Dur-
ing the first five to eight centuries of our
era the Germanic tribes invaded Europe
and wandered from place to place, seem-
ingly in search of a place to settle; but
each being pushed forward by other tribes
behind it, it took a long time before
this so-called "Folkwandering" ceased
to disturb Europe. These people were
barbarians; consequently they had never
learned to appreciate the sacredness of
private property and, as an inevitable
conclusion, therefore, when they came
into a country where well developed prop-
erty rights existed their ancestral virtue
of taking whatever was needed to sustain
life turned out at once into the vices of
plunder and robbery. One license always
brings on another, hence, the Roman popu-
lation, already desperate in the face of
misery and degradation, broke all bonds
when facing these barbarians. No hu-
man being was safe from the intrusions
of others. Especially were the tillers of
the soil sorely harassed. At the same
time did warlike spirit and wonderful
bravery develop among the leaders of
these wandering bands; but being de-
tached from the soil their resources were
small except from plunder. Gradually,
however, sort of agreements were entered
into between the tillers of the soil and
these warriors, that for a certain consid-
eration, as part of the product of the soil
or all the product of the soil, cultivated
and worked by the peasants, should be
rendered up to the war leader, the lord
who, in return, with his band of retainers,
protected the peasants from intruders, so
that they could undisturbed work upon
the soil. Thus, the two main classes of
feudal Europe developed: the serfs and
peasants, on the one hand, becoming at-
tached to the land and inseparable from
it; on the other hand, the lord, the pro-
tector, the theoretical owner of all the
land within the boundary of his manor,
who, finally grew into the practical dic-
tator over the serfs—the man with life
or death in his hands.

This practically demonstrates the for-
mation of the feudal system. Let it be
borne in mind that it arose as an abso-
lute necessity in the course of human
progress. It brought order out of chaos.
It established peace and quiet as far as
possible in those disturbed times. It
gave an impulse to agriculture, and,
moreover, through the luxurious habits
developed by the lords, in latter times,
also gave an impulse to trade and manu-
facture.

(To Be Concluded Next Week.)

MULHOLLAND'S CONTRACT

Dayton, Ohio, Jan. 7.—There was a
mass meeting of the National Cash Reg-
ister factory force Monday afternoon, in
the big hall of the factory in South
Park, and some of the revelations made
to the men were of a startling charac-
ter. President John H. Patterson him-
self addressed the men, and talked of the
present condition of affairs, and of the
relations between the working force and
the proprietors. He pointed out some
of the alleged mistakes made by the
unions. Patterson sought to show the
men that they had been influenced by bad
judgment in the trouble that arose be-
tween the company and the men some
time ago, and that but for this bad ad-
vice on the part of an international of-
ficer there would have been no trouble.

One of the statements made by Pat-
terson concerned the actions of John
Mulholland, an international officer for
the metal workers, who influenced the
members of the union, and who, while
occupying a position of honor and trust
with the Metal Workers' International
Union, was, it is charged, an arch con-
spirator in the employment of the Hall-
wood Cash Register Company, of Colum-
bus, the only important competitor of the
National Cash Register Company. It is
charged, and apparently substantiated,
that while Mulholland was supposed to
be fostering the cause of unionism, and
should have been adjusting the trouble
between the Dayton concern and their
men, he was, in reality, causing more
discord, and was putting the Dayton
union men up to making impossible things
of the N. C. R. All this was done in
the interest of the Hallwood people, who,
as it transpired during President Pat-
terson's address, were paying Mulholland
\$100 a month to whom their business,
which meant that he was to "knock"
the National Cash Register Company.

The existence of the signed agreement
between Mulholland and the Hallwood
people became known recently, when P.
N. Bigler, one of the N. C. R. attorneys,
went to Toledo December 4 last to take a
deposition in a damage suit brought by
the Dayton company against the Hall-

wood company. This deposition was
taken before Squire W. H. A. Reade, a
Justice of the Peace in Toledo, with an
office in the Valentine Building. Mul-
holland himself was put on the stand,
and he admitted under oath that he had
been in the employ of the Hallwood Com-
pany, at a salary of \$100 per month, for
doing practically nothing except to
"knock" the Dayton concern.

A. H. Mead, a Chicago attorney, was
interested in the case, and with several
other men was at the office of the To-
ledo justice when the deposition was
taken. Mr. Mead conducted a part of
the examination, and disclosed the fact
from the witness (John Mulholland) that
he had a written contract with the Hall-
wood company by which he received \$1,200
per year, from December 5, 1900, but it
was at his house, at the noon hour, on
request of attorneys for the N. C. R.
Company, he went to his home and se-
cured same. He testified that he received
his salary from December, 1900, to June,
1903, or thirty months, or a total of
\$3,600, from said Hallwood Company.
(George B. Buchanan, former secretary
of international association, was em-
ployed as superintendent of the Hall-
wood Company in June, 1903, the month
Mulholland's salary ceased.) Mulholland
also testified that the same services
agreed to be rendered by him were al-
ready secured to the Hallwood Company
prior to his contract by the Union Label
contract of the international association,
entered into April 4, 1903. He also test-
ified that he gave no time to the work de-
scribed in this contract. He testified that
he had helped the N. C. R. Company
whenever he could, to avoid difficulties,
and had personally assisted in ending the
polishers' strike in 1901 and restored
harmony in the N. C. R. factory. (The
first employee of the Hallwood Company
to manifest so unselfish and broad a
spirit toward the N. C. R.)

He testified that at the end of the two
years he did not specifically exercise the
option of changing the third year under
this contract, but that the Hallwood peo-
ple just paid him on as they had before
for six months (or until the date of their
contract) and he was paid for the same
period.

He answered he never did, as he had no occasion
to do so. Witness was asked if he
told any of the other officers of this con-
tract what disposition he made of this
money, etc.; he answered that it was
strictly a personal matter, and the money
was his own, and of course he kept it.
Deposition of George B. Buchanan, former
secretary of the international associa-
tion, was taken early in Novem-
ber, at Columbus, at which time he was
asked if he knew of this contract, and
he said he did not.

The fact of the existence of this con-
tract was discovered during the taking
of the deposition of R. C. Anderson, former
general manager of the Hallwood
Company, and the person who made the
contract with Mulholland, and also while
taking deposition of W. T. Wells, present
general manager of the Hallwood Com-
pany, both of whom acted under it for
the Hallwood Company, paying the agreed
salary to Mulholland.

The following is a copy of the agree-
ment between the Hallwood and Mul-
holland:
"Articles of agreement made and en-
tered into this 3d day of December, 1900,
between the Hallwood Cash Register
Company, of Columbus, O., party of the
first part, and John Mulholland, of To-
ledo, O., party of the second part:

"Witnesseth: The party of the first
part hereby hires the party of the sec-
ond part to act as its special representa-
tive to advertise and promote the sale of
its products that bear the union label,
said appointment being for a period of
two years, beginning the 3d day of No-
vember, 1900.

"Said party of the first part, in con-
sideration of the services hereinafter
mentioned, agrees to pay said party of
the second part the sum of \$100 of
each and every month and all reasonable
business expenses incurred during the
above-mentioned period of two years.

"Said party of the second part, in con-
sideration of the above, agrees to de-
vote as much time as he can spare from
his present employment, i. e., as presi-
dent of the International Association of
Allied Metal Mechanics, to advertising
and promoting the sale of all the outputs
of the factory of the party of the first

part that are union made and bear the
label of the labor union.

"It is further agreed that if for any
reason the party of the second part shall
sever his connection as president of the
International Union and devote his en-
tire time to the interest of the party of
the first part he shall receive \$2,000 per
year and all reasonable business expenses
incurred during the above-mentioned pe-
riod of two years, beginning with the
day of ————

"It is further agreed that if, after the
expiration of the above-mentioned period
of two years, the party of the second
part shall desire to continue in the em-
ployment of the party of the first part,
then it is agreed that this contract shall
extend for one year from that date.

"It is further agreed that the said
party of the second part shall have full
authority as to the methods he shall pur-
sue in carrying out his portion of this
contract in advertising and advocating the
union-made products of the said
party of the first part.

"Expenses incurred shall be with the
approval of the Hallwood Cash Register
Company.

"In witness whereof the parties have
hereunto set their hands the day and
year above mentioned.

"Hallwood Cash Register Company,
By R. C. Anderson, General Manager,
John Mulholland."

ERIE S. L. P.

Nominates Municipal Ticket and Issues
Address to Fellow Workmen.

Fellow workmen and all other de-
cent citizens of Erie, Pa:

The Socialist Labor Party has nomi-
nated the following candidates for the
coming municipal election:

City Assessor—Lugan M. Cunningham.
Select Council—First Ward, Alfred
Black; Third Ward, Herman Spittal;
Fifth Ward, Charles Schleicher.

For Common Council—Second Ward, J.
F. Gingenbach.

If you believe in, and are willing to
support the principles of Revolutionary
Socialism, you will write the names of
the above candidates in the blank spaces
upon the ballot.

The Socialist Labor Party has been
denied the right to appear upon the of-
ficial ballot, owing to the existence of a
fraudulent "Socialist party," which has
been allowed by the capitalist class to
steal a part of our party name, and we
appeal to the working class not to be de-
ceived by any misstatements which may
have been circulated about Socialism.

Under the present system of capital-
ism you are robbed of the greater por-
tion of your earnings—the more you pro-
duce, the less you receive; in short, you
earn all you get and more. Under So-
cialism, you would receive the full ex-
change value of your labor, multiplied
by all the modern factors of civilization.

Capitalism means freedom, equality and
fraternity for the working class. But
capitalism means poverty, degradation and
harder conditions, which will result in
abject slavery.

If you are willing to sacrifice the last
vestige of your fast disappearing liberty,
vote for any other party upon the ballot.
We do not want your vote. What we
do want are men who do not fear to vote
for principle, and you may rest assured
that we will agree to nothing short of
the complete overthrow of capitalism
and all its attendant evils.

By the authority of Section Erie, So-
cialist Labor Party; headquarters, cor-
ner of Peach and Twentieth streets.
Meetings on the first and third Sun-
days of each month at 2 p. m. All are
invited.
Press Committee.

Erie, Pa., Jan. 7, 1904.

MASSACHUSETTS FAIR COMMITTEE.

Fifth meeting, held January 6, in
Section Boston's headquarters, 1105 Trem-
ont street, Boston, Mass., with Com-
rade D. Enger, chairman. Minutes of
previous meeting adopted as read.

Roll call showed present: Comrades
Engelhart, Young, Reimbach, Sweeney,
Hess, Gallagher, Ringham and Berry,
of the Socialist Labor Party, and Comrades
Enger, Mrs. Enger, Mrs. Anderson Mrs.
F. Hanson, Swanson, Peterson and Gro-
nors, of the Scandinavian Socialist Club.

Motion, that correspondence from Sec-
tions New Bedford, Souerville and Low-
ell, in reply to call issued by the com-
mittee, be placed on file.

Motion carried that Comrade Gallag-
her engage Professor John Fay, of Lynn,
vocalist and instrumentalist, for the
opening night of the fair.

Motion, that Entertainment Committee
render complete report Wednesday night,
January 20, so that programme can be
printed. Carried.

Adopted to have ladies non-driving
contest, quoits and other games as fea-
tures of the fair.

Motion carried that Comrade Enger
see Comrade George Olson and arrange
to have articles brought from the West
Indies for the fair.

Motion adopted that members of the
fair committee canvass their locality for
comrades to assist at the fair.
Moved to adjourn until Wednesday
evening, January 13.
John Sweeney, Secretary.

The date on which your subscription
expires will be found on the label ap-
posite your name.
The paper will be stopped on that day
unless previously renewed.

PRICE TWO CENTS

SOUP HOUSES COMING

HANNA'S PROPHECY, WHICH "THE
PEOPLE" ALONE HAD, NEAR-
ING REALIZATION.

Gloomy Outlook in Country's Leading In-
dustry—Thousands Being Added to
Army of Unemployed—Prospect of Re-
turn to Scenes of 1893.

Pittsburg, Jan. 2.—Ushered in amid
the echoes of disaster the New Year
may well be regarded as ruled by an
evil and malignant star—the star of
Capitalism. In the industrial and labor
world particularly are the clouds that
shroud the future dark and forbidding,
unrelieved by any rainbow promise of
hope for the immediate future.

In no section of the country is the
industrial situation more gloomy than in
the Pittsburgh district, where the inter-
ests of the whole population are direct-
ly affected by the policy and prospects
of the United States Steel Corporation.
One year ago every mill and furnace,
whether in or out of the combination;
every steel works and crucible floor, was
worked to its utmost capacity. Iron
and steel workings of every class were
scarce and wages were the highest ever
known. Railroads were congested with
freight, their yards were blocked and
train crews were worked to the limit
of their endurance in a vain effort to
handle the enormous tonnage of the
iron and steel works. Coke ovens were
clipping all previous records of pro-
duction and prices of all materials were
at the top notch, only failing to soar to
abnormal prices through the efforts of
the United States Steel Corporation and
the conservative elements in control.

To-day the pendulum has swung far
round in the opposite direction. Thou-
sands of coke ovens are idle and rail-
roads have thousands of empty cars,
which no one wants. Mills are run-
ning half time or not at all. Over 60
per cent. of the blast furnaces are idle
and others are going out of blast as
quickly as possible. Prices have fallen
so far and so rapidly that conservative
mill men stand aghast and wonder when
the bottom will be reached. And the
streets of the towns and cities that sup-
ply the steel of this country are filled
with idle men, standing around with
their hands in their pockets waiting,
like Micawber, for something to turn up.

The mills of the combination that
started up with the last few weeks were
not compelled to do so by the pressure
of demand. Far from it. Without ex-
ception they have in stock more of their
manufactured product than there is any
likelihood of their being able to dispose
of for many months to come. However,
they are nearly all heavily stocked up
with materials—Bessemer, pig, gray
forge, billets or bars, as the case may
be. These materials were bought at
high prices or manufactured at exces-
sive cost, comparatively. Much was
bought at figures above those now
prevailing. As a matter of business pol-
icy, therefore, the men in control of the
policy of the steel combine have decided
to start up as many of their mills as they
possibly can. They will work up their
high-priced materials into the finished
product as quickly as possible and make
every effort to dispose of their stock at
or near current prices. For this reason
the magnates, whose season began in
New York on December 16, decided to
maintain prices on structural metal,
plates and rails.

Probably wages will be still further
reduced, although the employees of the
corporation think retrenchment has gone
far enough.

The prospective business for the blast
furnaces may be best gauged by the coke
situation. If we are to turn to the coke
regions we will find little ground for
optimism. The last week of 1903
witnessed the smallest weekly produc-
tion of coke in the Connellsville region
reported since the low water ebb of the
panic years of 1895 and 1896. Nearly
every week for months past has ended
with the monotonous report of a produc-
tion of 10,000 tons less than the week
previous. Care was always taken to tack-
on to the tail of the report the state-
ment that "a better feeling was evident
and the outlook is bright." How bright
may be judged from the fact that the
district which supplies the big works of
Pittsburg, McKeesport, Braddock and
Duquesne, out of a total of 22,737 tons,
reports 8,785 in blast and 13,952 idle.
Last week 100 ovens were blown out.
Of the 53 plants in operation, 24 plants,
with 2,643 ovens, made five days; 29
plants, with 6,045 ovens, made four days;
one plant, 40 ovens, made two days, and
53 ovens, the Sunset-Solway plant, seven
days. The average was 4.21 days, as
compared with 5.65 days for the week
preceding. The production for the week
was 75,278 tons, a decrease of 19,033 tons
from the week before, or about 25 per
cent.

(Continued on Page 4.)

"BUSINESS"

"Business" is the American watchword, byword and household word. Were statistics upon the subject obtainable, the word "business" would be found to be more often used than any other word in our enormous vocabulary. Such a hold has it gained upon us that we interject it needlessly into our everyday conversations, where it really does not belong at all. For instance: "That is my business," "none of your business," "mind your own business," etc., are expressions often used when there is not the remotest intention to connect them with commerce, the "balance of trade," or anything else of such a nature. Thus, by telling a man to "mind his own business" we do not intend to convey the meaning he should watch his bank, department store, railroad, or mine. In fact, the people we generally address such remarks to are not in the habit of owning banks or railroads. Still we keep on using these terms. The reason for it is to be found in the fact that the majority of Americans is "business" crazy. Not that the majority is actually engaged in business, but because the majority undoubtedly believes in "business."

It is "business" that keeps our lunatic asylums crowded, our jails filled with forgers, defrauders and swindlers of all descriptions. It is "business" that keeps children out of school, mothers away from the home and fathers in sweatshops, or other working hells. It is "business" that houses us in dirty hovels, feeds us on adulterated food and keeps the undertakers busy. Furthermore, it is "business" that keeps the American eagle screeching, the English lion roaring, the Russian bear growling and the Chinese dragon worrying. It is "business" which is to blame for the existence of "Eastern" questions, Armenian massacres, Kishineff massacres and, worst of all, the maiming, killing, stunning and degrading of the working men and women of our nation.

Finding "business" playing such an important and terrible role, the question to be answered is what is "business." From appearances it would seem to be next in importance only to the sun, air and the elements, without which life could not be supported. But is this true? Let us see. "Business," translated, means profit, or, to be more correct, the attempt at making profits. Profit being the sum and substance of the capitalistic system, it follows that the whole system must revolve around it. This is why our schools are capitalistic; why our religion is capitalistic; why our government is capitalistic; why our thoughts, and our actions are capitalistic, unless we know better.

To all those who, like the writer of this, are soldiers in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and who, at times, lose courage and hope, I will address these questions: Is it at all surprising that our work is so hard; that our progress is so slow; that our obstacles are so many? The capitalists, entrenched behind the system by which they live and profit, are using every agency, moral and material, in order to either perpetuate or at least prolong this system, which to them, in their blindness, seems to be the acme of perfection as far as they are concerned. Many are the individuals, or groups of individuals, who timidly approach the monster and either beg of it to be good or threaten it with one hand while holding out the other

for a bribe. Many others rise up and cry out in the wilderness against the wrongfulness of things, but subside as mysteriously as they have arisen.

But not so with us. With calm and terrible composure we face the enemy. In our eyes, our set countenances they can read their doom. Small wonder they strain every particle of their gray matter to fight us off. Small wonder no means are too foul nor expedients too dishonorable when attacking us. Having the judiciary, the clergy, the State, and, above all, the power of bread and butter in their hands, they befuddle, intimidate or terrorize the working class. Against such odds is our fight conducted at present. But, as our success depends only on removing the cataracts off the workers' eyes, the more we agitate, the quicker will we reap results. Therefore, let us up and at them with renewed vigor! Let us reason and debate with our fellow workers. Rather than be angry let us pity them in their affliction.

But—to return to "business." We have seen that profit is the centre of the capitalistic universe. Toward this magnet all capitalists are irresistibly attracted. We know this to be a very powerful magnet, the peculiar power of which the capitalists can't overcome. Witness their frantic struggles for more money when already they have enough to keep themselves and their families in luxury could they live a thousand years longer. Witness gray-haired men, with the graves yearning for their carcasses, straining their dried bones and muscles in the hunt for more money. Witness their tramping under foot every tender string of their heart, every feeling of the inner man, for what—more money, when already they have too much. But it is lost time appealing to them. Blind and turned into human money vaults, they only see gold in front of them, and, with hands outstretched they reach out for it, trampling upon everything in their way. With these conditions we intend to deal in the lines that follow.

We often hear the expression: "Yes, it may not be right, but it's 'business.' Volumes could not speak more eloquently than these few words. They mean that between right, justice and humanity on one side, and "business" on the other, the latter always gets the upper hand. They mean that in the pursuit of "business" the better side of human nature, which is trying to assert itself at times, must be forcibly suppressed. They furthermore insinuate that whosoever enters "business" and would make a success of it, must ever hold in view the motto: "Make money honestly if you can, but make it anyhow." With a generation growing up, reared and nurtured upon such sentiments, the current which runs in the opposite direction, that of mutual cooperation and good will towards all men, enters upon a severe struggle. There is no doubt, though, in the minds of intelligent and thinking humanity that the capitalistic system is upon its last legs, to use a slang phrase. The work of the Socialists is to hasten the day and at the same time to educate the working class preparatory to the world-wide house cleaning that will take place in the near future.

In the meantime, we are in the throes of capitalism. Our homes, our comforts, our children, education—in fact, our very life and death—depend upon the capitalists. How well they take care of us we all know. Evidences to this effect are

all around us. The capitalists are in "business" and we are the "things" they do "business" on. For although to outward appearances they deal in inanimate articles, yet we are the producers of them and not the inanimate articles, but the animated beings are affected by those deals.

In the pursuance of "business" many qualifications are necessary. As nature provides living beings with various parts, which said beings need in their struggle for existence, constantly strengthening these parts at the expense of others not as important, so does the pursuance of "business" bring forth and strengthen every quality necessary to its success, while at the same time stifling and relegating to the rear qualifications which would prove a hindrance. Where this process has gone on undisturbed by stronger influences, a "good business man" is the result.

A "good business man" has no more sentiment about him than the hippopotamus at the Zoo. No more feeling, when it concerns "business," than the hungry tiger. The "public be damned," that is the motto of "business."

It may not be right to deprive children of their playgrounds, their glee, their laughter, their frolics. It may not be right to make children look and act like little old men and women through chaining them to labor ten and fifteen years in advance of time. It is probably wrong to coin money out of little innocents that can neither realize nor resist. It may not be just for full-grown men and women to be comfortably spread in warm beds on a cold winter morning while little children are on their way to work, shivering from exposure. All this the capitalists will probably admit in the abstract, but, you know, right or wrong, it is "business."

It may not be right to maim and kill thousands of workmen in the mines, the shops and particularly on the railroads. It may not be right to so un-naturally deprive them of what is dearest to them. Equally wrong it is to deprive women and children of their friend, guide and bread giver. All this is probably true. But in order to prevent these sudden and unnatural deaths, life-saving devices, which cost a good deal of money, would have to be installed. Since there are five men waiting to take another man's job, whether that man is alive or dead, it would not be "business like" to go to such unnecessary expense.

It may not be right to deprive the home of the angel that watches over it. It may not be right to tear a mother from her little brood and leave them exposed and in danger. It is probably wrong to make that woman suffer all the pangs of hell worrying about her unprotected children. But, women will work for smaller wages than men. Moreover, they are weaker and more submissive. This being the case, "business" demands the employment of these women.

The street railways are not in "business" to murder. Their presidents would be shocked to be considered murderers. And yet murder they do. In the pursuit of profits, larger and larger, many cars must be run with as few men as possible. Operating through districts where workmen are obliged to herd their families worse than cattle, and where the children, in obedience to their instincts, are at play, making the entire playground, accidents are unavoidable.

These accidents cost money. Suits are brought against the company and damages awarded. But is it not possible to reduce these murders to a minimum? In this country, which justly prides itself upon its inventive genius, can then no device be invented which will prevent the horrible decapitations, disembowellings, and other equally fearful catastrophes? Or, is it possible to obtain safeguards which, while they would save life, would increase the "running" expenses of the companies? Aye, there is the rub. In an accident it is cheaper to kill than to maim. The courts always award heavier damages to those that are incapacitated than to the families of those who have been killed outright. Do you see the point? It is a question of "business." That's all.

There is a good deal of suffering among the poor every winter. Not only do they suffer on account of the lack of artificial heat, but their bodily heat is not up to the normal either, on account of the lack of proper nourishing food. The sight of human beings shivering from cold, their faces blue and their teeth chattering, must certainly be enough to touch anybody's heart, no matter how hardened. As steam-heated flats are not the fashion among the poor, coal is their only resource in the winter time. Buying this commodity by the five and ten cents' worth, they pay an enormous price for it. This, added to their general inability to buy, is pretty certain to keep them cold, freezing and suffering throughout the greater part of the winter.

Now, then, where is the inhuman rascal that would take advantage of such pitiful conditions? Where is the bully that would kick a man when he is down and helpless? Where is the heartless individual who would increase the misery of a child that is cold and uncomfortable? You can easily find him in our midst. It is the charitable, church-going, country-loving "business" man. A year ago, in the dead of the winter, through devilish machinations, he brought about a coal strike, whose history is too well known to be here recited.

Having created an artificially decreased supply, he immediately proceeded to take advantage of it by raising the price of coal. He kept that up until coal became absolutely prohibitive to the poor. And that at a time when snow was a foot deep upon the ground. Much was written and it is still being written about that memorable strike. But where is the man who would undertake to record all the suffering, sickness and deaths it has caused among the poor? And all because the coal barons had a falling out, and one, mightier and craftier than the others, by a stroke of "genius" and cunning of hell, was enabled to pile up a couple of more millions of dollars. It was "business" with him, therefore no sentimental nonsense could be tolerated.

The above examples are not isolated ones. Wherever we turn we meet the same conditions. Every commercial undertaking must necessarily be conducted upon "business principles," and what that means we have seen in the above lines. Truly this nation may be justly proud of being a "business" nation. And just because it is such, the life of the workman is shorter, his labor more intense, his struggle for existence fiercer than in other countries, not quite so "business" like. When our "business" men look back upon the carnage, the

wrecks and misery they create, their hearts must swell with pride and they must feel like exclaiming: "Behold the evidence of our superior ability! Behold the survival of the fittest! No better evidence of this theory need be produced!" Then they continue to fiddle while Rome is burning.

With all this evidence of the perverseness of business before us, there will be those who would counsel the advocating of Socialism among the "business" men of the country. To this, we Socialists of the S. L. P. reply emphatically No! Knowing that material conditions influence the actions and thoughts of men, we address ourselves chiefly to the working class, aware that this is the class which will reap the greatest benefits through the advent of Socialism. While with the "business" man, and particularly the successful one, the conversion to Socialism would be sentimental, with the workman such conversion is along the lines of material interest. Knowing also that material interest has ever dominated history, we have neither much time nor much room for sentimental balderdash.

As with the "business" man "business" is a matter of dollars and cents, so with us workmen Socialism is a question of bread, butter, economic liberty and emancipation. To those "business" men who realize the justice, philosophy and intelligence of our claims and, throwing overboard their capitalist ideals, join our ranks, we say welcome. But we do not get delicious with joy over it, as there is no reason for it. We outnumber the capitalists a hundred to one, and as soon as we succeed to arouse the workers' intelligence, who need care whether the capitalists will believe in Socialism or whether they won't? They will simply have to acquiesce in its triumph. To palliate the bitter pill they will have to swallow, that is, to earn an honest living, we will give them full sway to agitate among us for the abolition of Socialism and the re-establishment of capitalism. Whether such agitation would be treated in the light of a harmless joke, or as evidence of lunacy, we, of course, cannot decide just now.

Workers of the English-speaking countries! A great responsibility rests upon our shoulders. We have taken it upon ourselves to act as pioneers in the movement for the emancipation of our class. As the pioneers of every movement, especially of progress, have to stand the brunt of the battle, we Socialists cannot escape it either. As time progresses our difficulties will decrease.

To-day we do not meet the same obstacles as we had to contend with five years ago. Thanks to the classical training and education which we receive from our press, and thanks to the men who have and are sacrificing themselves for the cause, Socialism is gaining ground, if not votes, daily. Five years hence, and who can foretell what strides we will have made toward our goal? Although the writer of this is not influenced by any thoughts of "Socialism in our time," yet where is there the man whose heart does not beat with joyous expectation when thinking of the future of our movement? Hope is the star we look up to. They say where there is hope there is life. We have both. Besides these, we have right and numbers on our side. Who and what can beat that combination? Drug Clerk.

for her exports, and commercial partition of China.

Although what the powers are seeking is avowedly the commercial partition of China, they maintain that its political partition can never be accomplished. Russia, with 100,000 troops at present in Manchuria, cries as loudly as the rest that the integrity of China is her deepest concern. At the same time the archives of the British Foreign Office contain propositions that a free hand be given to Russia in Manchuria on the condition that the same privilege be accorded to Great Britain in the Yang-tse Valley. It is a quid pro quo suddenly set at naught by Japan, still smarting under her expulsion from conquered China by Russia, France and Germany.

It must be said that the Empire of the Rising Sun has in the past been rather unceremoniously treated by the powers. When, at the conclusion of the Chinese-Japanese war, the Japanese, by the treaty of Shimonoseki, claimed as territorial compensation the southern portion of the Manchurian Province of Sheng King, the Island of Formosa and the Pescadores, and 200,000,000 taels in money, Russia, Germany and France interposed objections, "in the interest of the peace of the world," to Japan being ceded Chinese territory.

The integrity of the Celestial Empire was to be maintained, and they notified Japan that they would maintain it "at all costs." In vain did Japan plead to be permitted to at least retain Port Arthur; Russia, Germany and France, and now Spain (!) would not budge from the position taken—China must remain Chinese.

Japan was forced to yield the point, and shortly afterward the world was treated to the spectacle of the champions of the integrity of China helping themselves to choice ports along its coast. Germany first occupied Kiau Tschau, and obtained several valuable concessions; next, Russia seized Port Arthur (which she had forced Japan to evacuate) and Talienwan, also securing valuable concessions.

Then Great Britain "leased" Wei Hai Wei, which the Japanese had captured from the Chinese not long before, and had been compelled to give back, and France demanded and obtained the assurance that no other nation should ever receive the provinces bordering on the island of Hainan. Even Italy put in a claim to be recognized as one of the champions of China's integrity by trying to annex Sannum Bay, in Che-Kiang. The original champions, however, put in an objection and upheld the Tung-li-Yamen in a refusal. Italy's claim was disallowed.

One of the concessions obtained by Russia at the time of her seizure of Port Arthur had been for a railroad tapping the Trans-Siberian at Manchuria, at the frontier of China and Russia, and ending in the Gulf of Liao Tung at New Chwang.

The concession was granted to the Russo-Chinese Bank, a stock company of which most, if not all of the stock, is held by the Russian Government, and the railroad, known as the Eastern Chinese Railway, was built across Manchuria and continued to Dalny, Port Arthur and Vladivostok via Kharbin. The line was made to connect with the New Chwang, Chiao-Lia-Kouan, Peking Railroad, and makes possible a, through transit from Moscow to Peking.

One hundred and sixty million roubles (\$85,400,000) were spent by Russia in the construction of the Eastern Chinese Railroad, but she secured from China the privilege of maintaining troops in Manchuria to protect the line. Commercially, the road does not pay, but strategically it is worth its cost several times over.

It was evident, or it should have been, that Russia was not going to such tremendous expense in connection with this line simply for the sake of giving transport facilities overland to goods of foreign origin taken by sea to New Chwang, Tien-Tsin, Dalny, Port Arthur and Kiao-Tschau.

The raison d'être of the road from a Russian point of view was to permit the taking of Russian goods to Manchuria and China overland by way of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and not to facilitate imports from the Pacific coast. The difficulty, however, is that the road has termini on the Pacific, and that unless these points are closed to foreign commerce by means of a high tariff, articles of Russian manufacture arriving there are undersold by Japan and the United States, the freight from San Francisco and Nagasaki being insignificant as compared with that from Moscow over the Trans-Siberian.

In order to encourage shipments over the Trans-Siberian, the government has to carry freight actually at a loss, and even then Russian manufacturers are unable to compete with the Japanese. Japan's commerce with Manchuria amounts to 20,000,000 yen (\$19,000,000) a year, and it will be readily imagined that she does not wish to see Manchuria a Russian province, or Manchurian ports closed to all but Russian goods.

Another point, apparently lost sight of, is that whatever market now exists in Manchuria was, in a great measure, created by Russia. When the tremendous undertaking of constructing a railroad across Siberia was begun, the civilized world applauded the enterprise of Russia and encouraged it.

It would seem that very little reflection upon the motives underlying the project would have brought home to the foreign governments now opposing Russia in the Far East the consciousness that the Czar was not embarking upon a scheme involving an expenditure of

\$500,000,000 simply for the purpose of furthering the commercial interests of Japan, Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States. The Trans-Siberian was built for the benefit of Russian commerce, for the opening to Russia of, up to then, unexploited territory, and for the development of mineral and agrarian properties heretofore inaccessible. It was not built to carry foreign-made goods westward, but to carry Russian-made goods east and raw materials of Manchuria and Siberia to the Pacific.

Her construction of the line has opened new markets in the East and has created a demand for manufactured articles which is being supplied not by Russia, but by Japan, Great Britain, the United States, Germany and France. To protect herself, Russia wants a preferential tariff; she demands free entry of her goods into Manchuria by rail, but would impose a duty on imports of goods of other nations at ports on the Pacific. It is over this protection which Japan denies her that Russia is now contending. To obtain it she is ready to concede Japan's right to exclusive trade privileges in Korea. She offers Japan a reciprocity arrangement similar to that which now exists between her and Great Britain.

"Let me annex Manchuria," says the Czar, "and as I have promised Great Britain not to oppose her expansion in the Valley of the Yang Tse, so will I promise not to oppose your views on Korea." The mikado cannot consent, for several reasons.

Already he practically controls the entire trade of Korea, Japan's exports to that country representing 17,000,000 yen (\$16,915,000) a year. In offering him exclusive trade privileges, the Czar is offering him what he already enjoys. This is, therefore, no compensation for the loss of Manchuria as a market. The Mikado also knows that if he allows Russia to annex Manchuria, himself taking Korea, he is only delaying the day when he will have to go to war in order to retain possession of Korea. By keeping Manchuria Chinese he possesses the province as a buffer state between himself in Korea and the Czar in Siberia.

As for Japan giving up Korea, that is even more impossible than for Russia to surrender Manchuria. In the last thirty years the population of the Dai Nippon has doubled, until now it exceeds 40,000,000. Whereas, Russia is over-rich in territory, Japan has absolute need of colonies.

Her little island empire is inadequate for the comfortable housing of all its subjects. Banks and manufacturing establishments have sprung up in all the centres of population, until now they harm one another by their competition. It is absolutely imperative to Japan that she find means of gratifying her need of territorial expansion. That she should be casting glances upon the mainland, with a view to annexing some of it, is no more than natural.

W. T.

A CALL.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party—Greeting:

In accordance with Article VII, Section 3, of the Party constitution, you are herewith called upon to make nominations for the place where the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party for 1904 is to be held. The nominations made must be reported to the undersigned not later than February 10, 1904, and will then be submitted to a general vote of the Party membership.

Organizers of Sections will please see to it that this call is read at the next regular meeting of their respective Sections, and that the nominations made are promptly reported to headquarters.

The Section being the unit of organization, each Section can nominate but one city. There is no need of reporting the vote cast; the simple statement that the Section places in nomination a certain city is sufficient.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary. New York, Jan. 2, 1904.

New York, Jan. 2, 1904.

Secretaries of State Executive Committees, take notice!

Your attention is herewith called to Article VII, Sections 2 and 3, of the Party constitution, which read as follows:

Article VII, Section 2: "The State shall be the basis of representation, each State to be entitled to one delegate for every one thousand S. L. P. votes cast at the State election preceding the National Convention, and to one additional delegate for a major fraction thereof. Any State having one or more Sections and polling less than one thousand votes, or polling no votes at all, shall be entitled to one delegate; a territory to be treated as a State."

Article VII, Section 3:

"The National Executive Committee shall call for nominations for the place of the convention in January of the convention year, and the State Executive Committee, in transmitting the call to the Sections, shall call for nominations for delegates, the nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the Sections (in each State), with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for."

The call for nominations of the convention city having been issued by the N. E. C., the State Executive Committees must be prepared to act in accordance with the foregoing provisions and properly prepare for the election of delegates to the National Convention.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

The War in The Far East

(The following article, from the New York Commercial Advertiser of last Saturday, presents the causes underlying the probable conflict in the Far East so vividly that it is herewith reproduced in its entirety. The student of Socialism will not fail to perceive that the article has also the merit of being an unconscious endorsement of the Socialist theory of the cause of war and imperialism, viz., economic necessity.)

Robbed of all its exterior of gold lace, pomp and ceremony; stripped of its euphemisms, and with the motives of all its acts laid to the world, how sordid is this abstract thing called diplomacy, upon which the fate of empires and of kings depends.

Behind it all there is nothing but dollars and pounds, francs and rubles, yens and taels. Yellow jackets and peacock feathers hide travelling salesmen, peddling railway concessions; knee breeches and orders cover discount clerks, negotiating national loans; and missionaries, heads of "scientific expeditions," ambassadors and travelling crown princes are simply advance agents of commercial houses sent out to boom trade. Latest example of all this we have the coming war in the Far East, the real cause for which, many diplomats say, is a proposed British loan line across Asia, which will destroy the usefulness of the great Siberian.

Act that the Trans-Siberian has not built across the wilderness has not lost sight of by the powers. Real that commercially it could not be until the country traversed had been developed, they have

struck upon the plan of paralleling it with a line running through Asiatic Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, India and the valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang.

Obviously such a line would ruin all the prospects of the Trans-Siberian; it would become the great highway from Europe to the Philippines, Siam, French Indo-China, India and China.

The German Government had long contemplated a railway to the Persian Gulf. Von Moltke had recommended a line from Angora through Sivas, Diarbekir, the valley of the Tigris, and Bagdad to Basrah, and as far back as 1886 the Deutsche Bank had secured a concession for the Iamit, Eski-Chehr, Angora line, continuing the already existing line, Haidar-Pacha, Iamit. When this had been completed, in 1893, the Deutsche Bank secured a further concession for the continuation of the line to Koniah, via Eski-Chehr and Afion-Karabissar.

In 1890 a further concession was granted to the Deutsche Bank by the Turkish Government, by the terms of which the Anatolia Railroad engaged to extend the railway from Koniah to the Persian Gulf, via Bagdad.

Opinions in England were divided as to the wisdom of thus allowing Germany to secure an outlet on the Persian Gulf. It was pointed out that the new line meant a road from Hamburg to India to the detriment of the Suez Canal.

The British Government, however, having proclaimed a Monroe Doctrine for the Persian Gulf, prepared to continue its railway lines in India toward Persia. A route was selected through Beluchistan, from Nasirabad, through Quetta and to Nushki.

Before all this activity, having but one aim—the doing away with the Trans-Siberian as a commercial line—Russia could not remain quiescent. Her envoys at Teheran and Constantinople were instructed to negotiate for railway concessions, blocking the right of way of the impending rival of the Trans-Siberian, and so well did they acquit themselves of their mission that Russia secured exclusive privileges to construct railways along the south coast of the Black Sea from Bitlis to Heraclea.

The concession was made by virtue of an imperial irade, dated April 7, 1900, and was the first concession granted to Russia in the Ottoman Empire. In Persia the Russian diplomats were equally successful, a treaty was signed with the Shah by which it was stipulated that for the present no railroads would be allowed built in Persia without the approval of the Czar. Not satisfied with this, Russia began to extend spurs of the Trans-Siberian in the direction of India and Afghanistan. The branch from Orenburg to Tashkent, in Turkistan, is almost completed.

Before this she had tried to secure the privilege of building a line from the terminus of her Caucasian system to Kizil Arrat, or Ashkabad, round the south of the Caspian and through the Persian provinces of Ghilan and Mazandaran, but had been unable to do so. Desirous of ingratiating herself into the good graces of Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan, with the object of continuing her railway to Kandahar, Russia has asked to be permitted to send a special envoy to Kabul. Against this the entire Foreign Office of Great Britain

is crying out, saying that it would be a menace to British preponderance in that country. So far the matter remains in abeyance.

In Turkistan, Mongolia and Tibet the Russian influence is also at work paving the way for annexation. In Tibet Russia has found the agents of Great Britain already there, intriguing with the same end in view. An expedition has been sent into Tibet, with the knowledge and support of Lord Lansdowne, and it has never been denied that its ultimate object is the seizing of the Chumbi Valley.

In China proper the grabbing of "territorial privileges" has been even more openly conducted. When the British projected the northern extension to the Chinese railway line Russia was not slow to declare that she would insist upon all railways in or running into Manchuria being Russian. The relations between Great Britain and Russia on that point became so strained that the Czar went as far as to circulate a report that he would seize the Chinese province of Hui, or Kuldja, if Great Britain persisted in her northern extension railway scheme. The matter was brought to the attention of the Marquis of Salisbury in July, 1898, and instructions were sent to Sir Claude MacDonald to investigate the report. As a result an agreement was signed between the two nations, by which Great Britain engaged "not to seek for her own account or on behalf of British subjects or of others any railway concessions to the north of the Great Wall of China, and not to obstruct, directly or indirectly, applications for railway concessions in that region supported by the Russian Government." As a quid pro quo Rus-

sia agreed not to seek railway concessions in the Yang-tse Valley and to place no obstacles in the way of Great Britain's obtention of the same.

As a result this entire region of China is under British influence, and it will only be a question of time until a British railway is built from Canton to Calcutta, thence to Quetta, and from there across Persia, to join with the Bagdad line. When that is accomplished the economic value of the Trans-Siberian will be a thing of the past.

Looked at thus from a purely economic point of view, the question of the "Far East," so-called, is nothing more nor less than a gigantic competition entered into by England, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States for the opportunity to exploit the resources of China and of south and central Asia. The same thing is going on in Africa, which England, France, and Germany are dividing among themselves, and the same thing would be happening in South America, were it not for the Monroe Doctrine.

The world is now being run on a purely commercial basis; that nation, which does the largest volume of business is the greatest nation; very naturally each nation, suffering from too active competition in the civilized part of the world, seeks new markets in unexploited countries, where opportunities exist for the establishing of trade monopolies. To that end Russia covets Manchuria, Japan lays claims to Korea, Great Britain has views on the Yang-tse Valley, Germany occupies Kiau Tschau, France casts loving glances upon the provinces adjacent to Hainan, and the United States demands the open door—that is, the right of entry

The Pilgrim's Shell

OR

FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN

A Tale From the Feudal Times

By EUGENE SUE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART I.—THE FEUDAL CASTLE.

CHAPTER II.

FERGAN THE QUARRYMAN.

It was long after the bailiff had led away his prisoners. The night grew rapidly darker. A young woman, pale, lean and deformed, clad in a tattered smock, her feet bare, her head half covered with a hood from which her hair escaped, held her face hidden in her hands, as she sat on a stone near the hearth of the hut which Fergan inhabited at the extremity of the village. A few chips of brush-wood were burning in the fire-place. Above rose the blackened walls, cracked by the recent conflagration; bunches of brush fastened on poles replaced the roof, through which here and there some brilliant star could be seen. A litter of straw in the best protected corner of the hovel, a trunk, a few wooden vessels—such was the furnishing of the home of a serf. The young woman, seated near the fire-place, was the wife of Fergan, Joan the Hunchback. Her forehead in her hands, crouching upon the stone which served her as a seat, Joan remained motionless. Only at intervals a slight tremor of the shoulders announced that she wept. A man entered the hut. It was Fergan the Quarryman. Thirty years of age, robust and large of frame, his dress consisted of a goat-skin kilt, of which the hair was almost worn off; his shabby hose left his legs and feet bare; on his shoulder he carried an iron pick and the heavy hammer which he used to break and extract the stones from the quarry. Joan the Hunchback raised her head at the sight of her husband. Although homely, her suffering and timid figure breathed an angelic kindness. Advancing quickly towards Fergan, her face bathed in tears, Joan said to him with an inexpressible mixture of hope and anxiety, while she interrogated him with her eyes: "Have you learned anything?"

"Nothing," answered the serf in despair, throwing down his pick and hammer; "nothing, nothing!"

Joan fell back upon the stone sobbing. She raised her hands to heaven and murmured: "I shall never again see Colomba! My poor child is lost for ever!"

Fergan, no less distressed than his wife, sat down on another stone placed near the fire-place, his elbows on his knees, his chin in his hands. Thus he remained for a long spell, gloomy, silent. Suddenly rising, he started to walk uneasily, muttering in a muffled voice: "That cannot remain so—I shall go—Yes, I shall! I must find him!"

Joan, hearing the serf repeat: "I shall go! I shall go!" raised her head, wiped her tears with the back of her hand and asked: "Where is it you want to go?"

"To the castle!" roared the serf, continuing his agitated walk, his arms crossed over his chest. Trembling from head to foot, Joan clasped her hands, and tried to speak. In her terror, she could not at first utter a word; her teeth chattered. At last she said in a faint voice: "Fergan—you must have lost your wits when you say you will go to the castle."

"I shall go after the moon has set."

"Oh! I have lost my poor child," rejoined Joan moaning. "I am going to lose my husband also." She moaned again. The imprecations and the foot-falls of the serf alone interrupted the silence of the night. The fire went out in the fire-place, but the moon, just risen, threw her pale rays into the interior of the hut through the open spaces left by the pale and bunches of brush that took the place of the burnt-out roof. The silence lasted long. Joan the Hunchback taking courage anew, resumed in an accent that was almost confident: "You propose to go to-night—to the castle—fortunately that's impossible." And seeing that the serf did not intermit his silent walk, Joan took his hand as he moved toward her: "Why do you not answer? That frightens me." He roughly withdrew his hand, and thrusting his wife back, exclaimed in an irritated voice: "Leave me alone, woman, leave me alone."

The feeble creature fell down a few steps beyond among some rubbish, and her head having struck against a piece of wood, she could not hold back a cry of pain. Fergan walked back, and by the light of the moon he saw Joan rising painfully. He ran to her, helped her to sit down on one of the stones of the fire-place, and asked anxiously: "Did you hurt yourself falling?"

"No, no, my dear husband."

"My poor Joan!" exclaimed the serf alarmed, having placed one of his hands on the forehead of his wife, "you bleed!"

"I have been weeping," she replied sweetly, staunching her wound with a lock of her long disheveled hair.

"You suffer? Answer me, dear wife!"

"No, no, I feel because I am feeble," answered Joan with her angelic mildness; "let's not think about that," and she added, smiling sadly and alluding to her deformity, "I need not fear being made ugly by a scar."

Fergan imagined that Joan the Hunchback meant he would have treated her with less rudeness if she had been handsome, and he felt deeply grieved. In a tone of kind reproach he replied: "A part from the hastiness of my temper, have I not always treated you as the best of wives?"

"That's true, my dear Fergan, and my gratitude is great."

"Have I not freely taken you for wife?"

"Yes, notwithstanding you could have chosen from the serfs of the seignior's a companion who would not have been deformed."

"Joan," replied the quarryman with sad bitterness, "if your countenance had been as beautiful as your heart is good, whose would have been the first night of our wedding? Would it not have belonged to Neroweg 'Worse than a Wolf,' or to one of his whelps?"

"Oh, Fergan, my ugliness saved us this supreme shame."

"The wife of Sylvest, one of my ancestors, a poor slave of the Romans, also escaped dishonor by disfiguring herself," was the thought that flashed through the quarryman's mind while he sighed, and pondered: "Oh, slavery and serfdom weigh upon our race for centuries. Will the day of deliverance, predicted by Victoria the Great, ever come?"

Joan, seeing her husband plunged in meditation, said to him: "Fergan, do you remember what Pierreine the Goat told us three days ago on the subject of our son? She had, as was her custom, led her sheep to the steepest heights of the great ravine, whence she saw one of the knights of the Count of Plouernel rush on a gallop out of a copse where our little Colomba had gone to gather some dead wood. Pierreine was of the opinion that that knight carried off our child under his cloak."

"The suspicions of Pierreine were well founded."

"Good God! What is it you say?"

"A few hours ago, while I was at the quarry, several serfs, engaged in repairing the road of the castle which was partly destroyed during the last war, came for stone. For the last three days I have been like crazy. I have been telling everybody of the disappearance of Colomba. I spoke about it to these serfs. One of them claimed to have seen the other evening, shortly before nightfall, a knight holding on his horse a child about seven or eight years, with blonde hair."

"Unhappy woe! That was Colomba!"

"The knight then climbed the hill that leads to the manor of Plouernel, and went in."

"But what can they do to our child?"

"What will they do!" exclaimed the serf shivering, "they'll

strangle him, and use his blood for some infernal philter. There is a sorceress stopping at the castle."

Joan uttered a cry of fright, but rage swiftly followed upon her fright. Delirious and running to the door she cried out: "Fergan, let's go to the manor—we shall enter even if we have to tear up the stones with our nails—I shall have my child—the sorceress shall not throttle him—no! no!" The serf, holding her by the arm, drew her back. Almost immediately she fainted away in his arms. Still, in a muffled voice, the poor woman muttered: "It seems to me I see him die—if my heart were torn in a vice I could not suffer more—it is too late—the sorceress will have strangled the child—who knows!" Presently seizing her husband by the hand, "You meant to go to the castle—come—come!"

"I shall go alone when the moon is down."

"Oh, we are crazy, my poor man! Pain leads us astray. How can one penetrate into the lair of the count?"

"By a secret entrance."

"And who has informed you of it?"

"My grandfather Den-Bras accompanied his father Yvon the Forester in Anjou during the great famine in 1033. Den-Bras, a skillful mason, after having worked for more than a year in the castle of a lord of Anjou became his serf, and was exchanged by his master for an armorer of Neroweg IV, an ancestor of the present lord. My grandfather, now a serf of the lord of Plouernel, was engaged in the construction of a donjon which was attached to the castle. The work lasted many a year. My father, Nominee, almost a child at the commencement of the structure, had grown to manhood when it was finished. He helped his father in his work, and became a mason himself. After his day's work, my grandfather used to trace upon a parchment the plan of the several parts of the donjon which he was to execute. One day my father asked him the explanation of certain structures, the purpose of which he could not understand. 'These separate stone works, connected by the work of the carpenter and the blacksmith,' answered my grandfather, 'will constitute a secret staircase made through the thick of the wall of the donjon, and it will ascend from the lowest depth of this edifice to the top, while it furnishes access to several reducts otherwise invisible. Thanks to this secret issue, the Lord of Plouernel, if besieged in his castle, and unable to resist his enemies, will be able to escape, and reach a long subterranean gallery which comes out at the rocks that stretch to the north, at the foot of the mountain, where the seigniorial manor-house rises.' Indeed, Joan, during those days of continual wars, similar works were executed in all the strongholds: their owners always looked to preserving the means of escape from their enemies. About six months before the completion of the donjon, and when all that was left to do was the construction of the staircase and the secret issue, traced upon the plan of my grandfather, my father broke both of his legs by the fall of an enormous stone. That grave accident became the cause of a great piece of good fortune."

"What say you, Fergan!"

"My father remained here, at this hovel, unable to work by reason of his wounds. During that interval the donjon was finished. But the artisan serfs, instead of returning every evening to their respective villages, no longer left the castle. The seignior of Plouernel wished, so it was said, to hasten the completion of the works and to save the time lost in the morning and evening by the traveling of the serfs. For about six months the people of the plain saw the movement of the workmen gathered upon the last courses of the donjon, which rose ever higher. After that, when the platform and the turrets which crown it were finished, nothing more was seen. The serfs never re-appeared in their villages, and their bereaved families are still awaiting them."

"What became of them?"

"Neroweg IV, fearing they might reveal the secret issue constructed by themselves, had them locked up in the subterranean place, that I stated to you. It is there that my grandfather, together with his fellow workmen, twenty-seven in number, perished, a prey to the tortures of hunger."

"That's horrible! What barbarity!"

"Yes, it is horrible! My father, kept at home by his injuries, alone escaped this fearful death, overlooked, no doubt, by the

seigneur of Plouernel. 'Trying to fathom the mystery of my grandfather's disappearance, my father recalled the information he had received from his father on the plan of the donjon and its secret issue. One night, accordingly, my father betook himself to that secluded spot, and succeeded in discovering an air-hole concealed amid brushwood. He slid down this opening, and after walking long in a narrow gallery, he was arrested by an enormous iron grating. Seeking to break it, he passed his arm through the bars. His hand touched a mass of bones—human bones and skulls—'

"Good God! Poor victims!"

"It was the bones of the serfs, who, locked up in this subterranean passage with my grandfather, had died of hunger. My father did not try to penetrate further. Certain of the fate of my grandfather, but lacking the energy to avenge him, he made to me this revelation on his death-bed. I went—it is a long time ago—to inspect the rocks. I discovered the subterranean issue. Through it, to-night, will I enter the donjon and look for our child."

"Fergan, I shall not try to oppose your plan," observed Joan after a moment of silence and suppressing her apprehensions; "but how will you clear that grating which prevented your father from entering the underground passage? Is it not above your strength?"

"That grating has been fastened in the rock, it can be unfastened with my iron pick and hammer. I have the requisite strength for that job."

"Once in the passage, what will you do?"

"Last evening I took from the wooden casket, hidden under the rubbish, a few strips of the parchment where Den-Bras had traced the plan of the buildings; I have posted myself on the localities. 'The secret gallery, in its ascent towards the castle, comes out, on the other side of the donjon, upon a secret staircase built in the thick of the wall.' That leads, from the lowest of the three rows of subterranean dungeons, up to the turret that rises to the north of the platform."

"The turret," queried Joan, growing pale, "the turret, whence occasionally strange lights issue at night?"

"It is there that Azenor the Pale, the sorceress of Neroweg, carries on her witchcraft," answered the quarryman in a hollow voice. "It is in that turret that Colomba must be, provided he still lives. It is there I shall go in search of our child."

"Oh, my poor man," murmured Joan, "I faint at the thought of the perils you are about to face!"

"Joan," suddenly interjected the serf, raising his hands towards the starry sky, visible through rifts in the roof, "before an hour the moon will have set; I must go now."

The quarryman's wife, after making a superhuman effort to overcome her terror, said in a voice that was almost firm: "I do not ask to accompany you, Fergan; I might be an encumbrance in this enterprise! But I believe, as you do, that at all costs we must try to save our child. If in three days you are not back—"

"It will mean that I have encountered death in the castle of Plouernel."

"I shall not be behind you a day, my dear husband. Have you weapons to defend yourself?"

"I have my iron pick and my hammer."

"And bread? You must have some provisions."

"I have still a big piece of bread in my wallet; you will fill my gourd with water; that will suffice me."

While his wife was attending to these charges, the serf provided himself with a long rope which he wound around him; he also placed a tinder-box in his wallet, a piece of punk, and a wick, steeped in resin, of the kind that quarrymen use to light their underground passages. These preparations being ended, Fergan silently stretched his arms towards his wife. The brave and sweet creature threw herself into them. The couple prolonged this painful embrace a few moments, as if it were a last adieu. The serf then, swinging his heavy hammer on his shoulder and taking up his iron pick, started towards the rocks where the secret issue of the seigniorial manor ran out.

¹ A Gallic heroine of the second century.

(To be Continued.)

A TRULY DEVILISH AFFAIR

OR

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

A FABLE, BUT TRUE.

[Under the above heading the Muenchen (Germany) "Sued-Deutscher Postillon," a Social Democratic paper, comes out with the below satirical article, that bears out the conclusion arrived at in THE PEOPLE'S review on the Dresden Congress. Translated for THE PEOPLE by Gotthold Ollendorff, New York.]

The commander of the spirits (the "Old Man," if such a designation is permissible) reviewed the army of the faithful. Queer things were doing. Various rumors had reached his ears, and he, personally, was of the opinion that the state of affairs was not what it should be.

Although he was pretty well along in years, had helped to hatch more than one devilry, and long ago had passed his term of apprenticeship, he still took a diabolical joy in the anticipation of the "day of judgment" that he was to hold over these renegades; he was to break with them in a terrific manner and show them the right path a decent fellow ought to take. He rubbed his not-too-climby hands. Hot work was ever to his taste. He would give them a warning, long to be remembered.

With a frantic oration he opened up on them; shafts of fire whirled around the guilty heads of the accused. Scorched by the red-hot shafts of his burning oratory, many made themselves scarce, who only shortly before had "goo-goo-eyed" with those who were going to the dogs. Against one in particular was his diabolical directed; one who had the extraordinary impudence to ride a new hobby horse, in spite of the rules of the house, which pointed out and clearly defined the duties of the "lesser spirits" consisting mainly in avoiding, if possible, any change from the old hobby horses.

ishment was to be avoided, only the "Old Man's" hobby was to be ridden. The "army of the people" or "standing militia" stood, ready saddled, in the stable. As said before, the naughty fellow in question grossly violated these regulations, and stroke after stroke of mental lightning cracked down upon the daring head of the "father of the lost sons," who was regarded as the seducer of the whole crew opposed to the "old." Why! several of the "little ones" had become so experienced that they could throw longing glances to the "right" with one eye, while with the other they strongly squinted to the left, although they were in duty bound to look with both eyes to the left. "Somebody" pretended to have seen something of this sort, that is, not himself,—but there were rumors to this effect. And rumors were far more dangerous than the squinting itself.

With an innocence that was child-like and bland, the chief malefactor sat throned on his own hobby horse, while the accusing torrent of oratory swept over him. That his smallest punishment would be a sentence of death by court-martial—that he clearly foresaw. But whether he could endure it, whether he could sustain it, that was a different question.

Nevertheless, conscience-smitten or downcast like a penitent sinner he did not look back. That had its reason in the fact that as a former mortal he had lived in a "wide-open" town, and drowned his ideals, as well as his not-

too-narrow conscience, in triple-extra-brewed beer. At least that's what the "Old Man" said, adding cautiously, "without reflection upon those present."

At every well-pointed, decisive attack the accused did not fail to cry "Bravo!" or "Quite true!" thus earning every time a thankful glance from the "youthful fire-eater" who rejoiced exceedingly in the efficacy of his speech. What else could it be but a sign of the penitence of the great sinner?

In his endeavors to pacify the speaker the accused was supported by a former earth-worm, a quibbler, who was willing to prove conclusively to anybody that white was black and black white. He also knew all about the "red" color considered by all others as only "pink red," and by himself a "genuine red," even as "washable red," although this contention of his was upset in the general cleaning process to which he was submitted, and during which process his "genuine red" faded to some extent. Still he could be pardoned for this, as he was color blind by birth.

When the "Old Man" finished his accusation, the audience went wild with joy, and one "black man," a well-known alderman of the empire, even went to the extent of performing gymnastic feats on the floor in his exhilaration. And now came the turn of the chief accused, of the "young one," to defend himself. Merrily his hobby horse galloped on the platform, making all kinds of daring jumps. On principle he would

not trot around, not he; "moreover, the old hobby horses were spavined, and did not deserve their oats, whereas his own hobby horse was full of life." Over and over it leaped high into the air, completely leaving the "old" ground in its speedy race. Nearer and nearer the audience crowded to regard the animal-wonder.

The spell which the "Old Man" had laid upon the "young one" was broken, and the latter left the platform amidst an applause equal to that bestowed upon his predecessor. The alderman alone would have liked to poison him with his looks, but as this was an impossibility, he aggravated his anger into a deeper black than before.

Now the accused was in a quandary; who was the victor? he or the other one? Those whom he consulted did not know either. What was to be done?

Secretly he held a confab with his friends, one of whom, a former nabob, was armed with a bell. The other one was a great savant, possessed of an enormous supply of pugnacity, and of whom tradition says that in his earthly days his rotation typewriting machine daily consumed ten bales of paper, and that he fought with all the scribblers in creation.

Triumphant the three-leaved clover leaf returned. Eureka! They had found what they were looking for—a resolution on paper!

No avenue of escape left now! Away with excuses.

In a pathetic voice the presiding officer read this glorious composition, which commanded everyone to recognize the "old" and the "Old Man," and at the most, to undertake only "minor corrections" with the approval of the authorities. When he reached the passage "Revision is not permitted," a great uproar arose, as some fell in convulsions—whether from laughing or from fright could not be learned in the tumult.

The "new hobby horse" acted as if it were crazed, kicked backward and forward, bucked, and finally keeled over.

When at last order was restored, and the presiding officer, alias reader, called for the eyes "on the submitted Annihilation-Protest," Separation—and Unification—resolution by show of hands, many hands, not all hands, a forest of hands were raised. The accused even raised both hands, and the new hobby horse whinnied loud in its delight. Perfect bliss prevailed everywhere. The "Old Man" really did not know who had been the victor.

This happened in the year 3091 in "Hellish Saxony."

[As to the leading personalities above referred to, they are, the "Old Man," Bebel; the "young one," Vollmar; the "man with the bell" (the chairman's insignia), Singer; and the "quibbler," Kautsky.]

CLEVELAND (OHIO) LECTURES.

Section Cleveland, S. L. P. has arranged for the following lectures:

Sunday, January 17.—"Why American Workingmen Should Be Socialists." Speaker, J. Wetstein.

Sunday, February 7.—"Evolution of Property." Speaker, John D. Goerke.

Sunday, February 21.—"Attitude of the S. L. P. Towards Trades Unionism." Speaker, F. Seymour.

Sunday, March 6.—"Effect of Machinery on the Working Class." Speaker, John Kircher.

These lectures take place at 3 p. m. at Section Hall, 250 Ontario street, top floor (German-American Bank Building). All workingmen and their friends and especially the readers of the Weekly People are cordially invited to attend. Admission free.

CLEVELAND, O. OFFICERS.

The following officers and committees have been elected by Section Cleveland, O., for the ensuing six months: Organ- izer, John D. Goerke; Recording Sec- retary, Robert Zilmer; Financial Sec- retary, Joseph Reiman; Treasurer, John Heidreich.

OFFICERS OF SECTION LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.

Officers of Section Louisville, Ky.: Organizer, Lorenz Kleinkenz; Recording Secretary, Frank Giffay; Financial Secretary, Louis Fleischer; Treasurer, Jas. O'Hearn; Agents for the People and Correspondent, James Doyle; Agent for Arbeiter Zeitung and Correspondent, Albert Schmitz; Librarian, Thomas Sweeney; State Committee and Campaign Committee for Section Louisville, James Doyle, James O'Hearn, Thomas Sweeney, Lorenz Kleinkenz, Mat. Meyer, F. Giffay and A. Schmitz; Amusement Committee, Gat. Braun, R. Ducknall, Emil Guth, Emil Kurrens, Mat. Meyer, A. Schmitz, Louis Fleischer, Lorenz Kleinkenz, F. Giffay, J. Schmidt and Carl Metz; Auditing and Grievance Committee, Sweeney, Schmitz and Kleinkenz.

DETROIT, MICH., AGITATION MEETINGS.

Section Detroit, Mich., will hold agitation meetings at Minnebach's Hall, 273 Gratiot avenue, on the following Sunday afternoons, at 2:30 p. m., and extends an invitation to all to attend. Free discussion, open to all. The subjects and lectures are:

January 17.—"The Class Struggle." Speaker, Herman Richter.

January 24.—"Can Pure and Simple Trade Unions Solve the Labor Problem?" Speaker, M. Meyer.

January 31.—"Socialism vs. Capitalism." Speaker, George Hassler.

OFFICERS OF LOCAL 351.

Local 351, at its regular meeting in headquarters of the S. L. P. at Watervliet, N. Y., elected the following officers for the coming year: Organizer, William Sullivan; Recording Secretary, L. F. Alrutz; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, J. J. Corcoran; Literary Agent, P. J. Burke; Auditing Committee, Duffy, Burke and Long; Grievance Committee, Duffy, Long and Corcoran.

WISCONSIN STATE OFFICERS.

At the regular meeting of Section Milwaukee, held January 2, the following officers of the State and the City Central Committees were elected for the semi-annual term, beginning January 1, 1904: Wisconsin State Committee—State Secretary, John Viethaler, 340 Fifth street. Members: Chas. H. Minkley, Hans Hillman, A. Schabel, Gust. Starke, M. Grohs, Th. Horn, E. M. Rubringer. Milwaukee City Committee—Organ- izer, E. M. Rubringer, 1445 Twelfth street; recording secretary, Alb. Schabel; financial secretary and treasurer, Louis Zeiner; literary agent, Gust. Triebel; agent for the People, John Viethaler; agent for the Socialistic Arbeiter Zeitung, R. Babnik; trustees, Chas. H. Minkley, M. Grohs, A. Schabel. E. M. Rubringer, Organizer. Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 4, 1904.

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM.

A series of public lectures is now being held every Sunday at 3:15 p. m., under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum, in Florence Parlors, 527 Main, near Genesee street. Admission free to all.

January 17.—Mr. Orestis A. Curtis, on "Class-Consciousness."

January 24.—Attorney Thomas E. Boyd, on "Utopia—Yesterday and To-Morrow."

January 31.—Rev. L. M. Powers, on "Are We Civilized?"

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,068
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,564
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,617

Toilers, when the earth's for you,
Why for masters dig and hew?
Why not boldly take your due
From the bandit few?

PARKE GODWIN.

The death of Parke Godwin, the noted American essayist, orator and journalist, rolls aside the curtain of a life whose lights and shadows combine in presenting a personality typical of a certain sign-post, that the students of modern events and approaching deeds should read with attention.

Parke Godwin's intellectual cradle was the region of Princeton, N. J. There, in particular, the sentiment, that had lent inspiration to the great revival war led by Jonathan Edwards, soon solidified in men of intellectual power. Feeling and letters combined. The former revolted at a spectacle, supposed to be exclusively European and not conceived as possible in America,—the spectacle of involuntary and spreading poverty. Not yet did or could the economic development furnish the material data for the understanding of the laws underlying the phenomenon, least of all for the practical way out. In sight of such circumstances the thinking element in the population divided, according to the make-up of their hearts, into two camps—the hard-hearted concluded that the submergence of the masses was a natural and inevitable law of nature and of society, and settled down to avoid themselves being submerged by trying all the harder to submerge others; the kind-hearted, revolted against any such tenet of fatal popular sorrow, and they became Utopians. The wave of Fourieristic colonies that then swept over the land was the product of the latter sentiment and element. Brook Farm was one of its fruits. Of course, the wave spent itself impotently. Lacking economic basis, devoid, accordingly, of scientific guidance, the Socialistic colonies collapsed, Brook Farm among the rest. Whither went the noble hearts and minds, who had taken part?

Though never himself a member of the Brook Farm Colony, Parke Godwin was of it, more than in spirit merely. He sympathized so strongly with the movement, that his was the pen that wrote the first address in behalf of the Colony, and he was not only the editor of its organ, "The Harbinger" in this city, but the subsequent author of a work on "Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier." Whither went his associates, whether he? ALL HIMSELF INCLUDED, HIMSELF AT THEIR HEAD, TURNED ARCH REACTIONISTS!

It was no accident that the New York "Evening Post," of which Parke Godwin was an editor and an inspiring force, was the utterer in later years of the doctrine of the "rifle dist" for the workingmen, and the advocate of the theory that justified the railroad corporations to defend "their realms" arm in hand. Sentiment, unguided by sense, unbanked upon economic and material fact, is like a meteor in space. Even though less of bulk and crushing power than the conservative rocks, that, never flying off the handle, stuck to the mountain ledge, the erratic meteor may, on its return trip, produce devastation. So with the Utopian.

Brilliant in pen and speech, and cutting a wide swath in the country's history, Parke Godwin blazes by his career a path that must be shunned, an element that must be guarded against, and sure to be attracted by the Socialist Movement,—the path of Utopia, the bridge of the "Intellectuals."

"WE BULLY THE WEAK!"

The President's "Panama Treaty Message" has been delivered to Congress and published in full in the press. Strange as it might seem, some of the papers, that style themselves "independent," and that have been seized with moral cramps at the President's latest strenuousness, are keeping up the comedy. With hands thrown heavenward and eyes rolled back, they are ejaculating: "The country is in danger! Any day we may find ourselves at war with some powerful nation! The President does as he likes and likes what he does!"

The terror of these capitalist and rifle-diet-to-workers papers is as assumed as their spasm of morality on the Panama affair. There is no such danger from the President. Long though the message is, it may be summed up in a short, terse motto—"We Bully the Weak." And the motto, so far from alarming any foreign powerful nation, pleases them all. It is their own motto. It is the motto they practice abroad, being well drilled in its exercise at home, against the untutored working class. It is, in fact, the motto of capitalism.

No sane man imagines that President Roosevelt will treat England, Germany, France, Russia, or any great power in the manner that he has treated Colombia. The governments of those powers will feel no more concern at the President's obvious motto "We Bully the Weak," than the Government of the United States felt alarmed when England practiced the motto in the Transvaal, when Germany practices it in other parts of Africa, when France indulges in it in Algiers, or when Russia puts it in operation in Manchuria. On the contrary, the President's motto is a guarantee to strong powers that they have nothing to fear. No danger of their being bullied.

Safe, accordingly, from the danger of suddenly having to face some powerful foreign invader, it was time for the element upon whom our capitalist government practices at home its motto of "We Bully the Weak," to "catch on." The obverse of the reason why no foreign capitalist government need fear to be bullied by ours, nor ours by theirs, is the reason why the working class of the land is in constant dread of the identical guns, handled by the identical class, that at home despoils them of their substance as Colombia has been despoiled of Panama—WEAKNESS.

The fact being known, the secret being out, that it is only the weak who need fear bullying, why should the natural Giant Labor allow itself to be kept an unnatural Pigmy Labor?

It is in the natural giant's power, whenever it wills, to snap the bands that unnaturally crimp it into a pigmy, and, stepping into the shoes of power, put an end not only to the bullying of itself, but also the disgraceful motto itself that legitimizes bullying.

"GOING HIGHER."

When the now Recorder Goff was conducting the investigations before the Lexow Committee in this city, he began by exposing the smaller fry of Tammany delinquents. When he got through with that, the visionaries imagined Mr. Goff was through for good. They found themselves mistaken. Mr. Goff "went higher," and took up another layer of malefactors; and he kept it up, "going higher" and still higher, till the whole structure of corruption stood exposed, from top to bottom, and lay ready to be thrown into the ditch at the next election. Stick a pin there.

And now comes another investigation, conducted by another investigator. This time they are not the appointees of any Legislature. The appointer is social evolution, the investigator is the upper and the nether millstone of economics, and the concern investigated is a no less rotten affair than Tammany Hall,—it is Capitalist Society. It is exhilarating to see on what strictly parallel lines of "going higher," and ever higher the investigator is proceeding in this investigation; also, how the higher culprits imagine that the investigation is at an end when the smaller fry has been "soaked," but soon find that the investigator, going ever higher, reaches out into ever higher layers, and lays hands upon them also.

The investigation in question amounts to an inquiry into the solidity and solvency of capitalism. That, of course, implies the solvency of the individual capitalist, and the results of the investigation are read in the lists of failures.

In 1901, there were 10,657 failures reported in "Bradstreet's." The liabilities were small. It was the small fry that was convicted. The layer just above rubbed its hands; it had been left untouched. But just as happened in the case of Tammany, the higher culprits

sang too soon. Economic evolution "went higher." For the year of 1903, we find 9,768 failures—a decrease in numbers—but an increase in liabilities, \$154,277,093 with assets of only \$84,060,471; in other words the richer, that is, the higher culprits have been attained and exposed.

And so it goes on, until the periodical crashes are reached that pull down the big colonels and captains of industry. Economic evolution is a relentless investigator. None of its fault if the people do not grab Capitalist Hall, as they did Tammany Hall, and overthrow it. None of its fault, if tutored by the investigator's steady revelations, the people fail to realize that from top to bottom Capitalist Hall spells rottenness, with insecurity for all and the resulting evils that flow therefrom.

"HAS THE NON-UNIONIST A RIGHT TO WORK HOW, WHEN AND WHERE HE PLEASES?"

If ever there was an illustration of Carlyle's size-up of writers, who, "given a square inch of Castile soap, produce a bucketful of soap-suds," the illustration is furnished by Mr. Frank K. Foster in this month's "Federationist," in the leading article, headed by the above question. The article covers ten long columns—and? And the square inch of the question's Castile soap is turned into a mass of soap-suds bubbles. In the midst of the whole mass of bubbling phrases, there is not an argument! Hold! There is one, and what a skull-crushing boom-crang of an argument! It is this:

"If there is a sound principle in democracy, in government by majority, if a majority of a craft decide that it is for their interest to refuse to work under certain conditions, why does not the presumption hold good that the majority is right there as elsewhere?"

Mr. Foster knocks himself down. His own argument determines the question against him, and in favor of the non-union man working how, when, and where he pleases. Few, very few, are the trades that are organized into any one trades union. The overwhelming majority of organizations comprise but a small fraction, certainly less than even one-half of their respective trades. If the democratic RULE OF THE MAJORITY is to be invoked, it does not, accordingly, lie in the mouth of the unions of the Frank K. Foster to invoke it. They are an obvious minority, the non-unionists the overwhelming majority. But this is not all. Even if the Frank K. Foster unions comprised a majority of their respective trades, the DEMOCRATIC rule of the majority could not be invoked by THEM. It is essential to democracy that ALL concerned shall be given an opportunity to express themselves upon a subject on which the majority's opinion is to bind all. Where any portion, even if it be a minority, is barred from such opportunity, it is presumptuous arrogance to demand, and intolerable tyranny to enforce obedience. The Frank K. Foster style of unionism comes under this head. It bars large shoals of the members of a trade from a voice in its concerns: in many instances it bars them deliberately, and with malice prepense, by the Chin. Walls of high dues that it raises so as to keep members out; and in all instances it inferentially bars them out by clinging to an economic principle, that throws ever larger shoals of workingmen out of work and renders the existence of all precarious, the capitalist system, and by backing up the monstrous system with their ballots,—all of which inevitably tends to keep the vast majority of the members of a trade outside of the Frank K. Foster or pure and simple unions.

The invocation of the "democratic rule of the majority" by the Frank K. Foster collection of labor lieutenants of capitalism is like the invocation of Scripture by the devil—an act of stupidity, an act of insinuating mendacity, and, fortunately also, a self-destructive act.

AUSTRALIA, OLD AND NEW.

The chapters on Australia in the great work of Lewis Morgan on "Ancient Society" are a brilliant candle by which to read the political and economic news that is just now coming in from that country. It is a striking instance of ethnology illuminating politico-economic evolution. Morgan showed how the peculiarly kinky system of the Australian family throttled the ethnic development of the Australian aborigines; and now, in that same Australia, the white invader in possession is repenting, on the politico-economic field, the same self-throttling evolution that the old aborigines had fallen into.

Capitalist society is corner-stoned on the merchandise status of the working-

man. In the instance of this peculiar merchandise, it happens that, seeing the article really sold (labor-power) is not distinguishable, at least not separable from, the seller or owner (the working-man, a human being), a conflict arises between Labor and capitalist society. Capitalist society, on the one hand, demands that the merchandise Labor quietly submit, like all other merchandise, to the law of capitalist progress, that is, to an ever declining price; Labor, on the other hand, insists upon resisting that law of capitalism, aye, it even aspires to turn the law upside-down, as far as the merchandise Labor is concerned, and fetch an ever increasing price. This conflict manifests itself in all industrial nations, while it takes different aspects of detail in various lands.

In the United States, the country that typifies the trend of the conflict almost everywhere—the same as it typifies the ethnic evolution that took place in all lands, except Australia,—the aspect of the conflict has been to rip up the pretensions of the merchandise Labor and compel it to fall in line with all other merchandise. Accordingly, the development of capitalism has been quickest here, and, as a final result, the social evolution has been here so complete that here the field is ripe for the next step in the evolutionary process,—Socialism.

In Australia, however, and along lines strictly parallel to the self-throttling development of the aboriginal family system, the aspect taken by the conflict has likewise been self-throttling. The merchandise Labor, while upholding the capitalist system through its old style or pure and simple Unions, was allowed and managed to take joint control of the government. The result was obvious. The contradiction between cause, capitalism, and result, merchandise feature of Labor, could bring no fruit. The capitalist development was arrested, like the ethnic development was before. Capitalism wilted, labor pines, and Socialism does not find the path smoothed for it. The present generation suffers, and the future will have to bear the consequences—unless our young and enthusiastic fellow-worker, the Australian Socialist Labor Party, can succeed, by dint of all the more strenuous efforts, to make up for the time lost by the people and pluck national salvation from the jaws of threatened national ruin.

IT IS COMING!

There is never a lie told but it comes back. The "prosperity" lie is well on its return trip. For the last years glowing reports of the nation's wealth have been current. As against the rest of the world, the United States has been importing less than it exports in nearly every commodity on the market. It is displacing native shoes in South America, native nails in Germany, native locomotives in France, and native wooleens in England. The money-metal movement shows an export excess of over \$147,000,000 for the last ten years, while for the same time the trade balance of merchandise is over \$3,534,700,000. Evidently enormous streams of wealth have been flowing into the country—but where has it gone to?

That it is not burning holes in the pockets of the wage-workers is evidenced by the reports from the steel, coal, coke and almost all other fields. Over three-fifths of the steel blast furnaces are cold, and the number is being augmented daily. Most of the steel plants in operation are finishing plants, hastily using up stock bought at high prices, so that their products can be sold before the market drops any lower. Of the 150 thousand men employed by the steel trust great numbers are idle, and those that still work are doing it for from 5 to 20 per cent. less wages.

No steel wanted, no coke wanted. The coke production has been steadily dropping off, week by week, till last month's figures show a drop of 50 per cent. from those of a year ago. This means absolute idleness for many coke-burners, and reduced hours for the rest.

The lack of steel shipments is affecting the railroads. Thousands of freight cars are rotting in the weather, useless. All through the coal regions, wage-reductions, strikes, and lock-outs are the order of the day. So common are they, that the union officers are using them to secure recalcitrant miners back into the ranks.

These are but a few industries—but they are the leading, the pace-setting ones. The others are in like condition. In all, the workingman is hard pinched. He is either on short allowance or none at all. Evidently, then, those aforesaid streams of wealth did not flow into the port-monetaries of the laborers. Where did they go, then?

The answer will be found in the report, published elsewhere in these columns, of the state of affairs in the Pittsburgh district, a state of affairs that will remind readers of The People of the prediction recently made by Mark Hanna, and published in these columns only, that "before a year was over, soup houses would be seen in all the large industrial centers."

It is coming—thank you, ye labor fathers, professors and pulpiterers in the pay of the class that alone can ever enjoy prosperity under capitalism!

IS THE TRUST HERE TO STAY?

There is an idea prevalent in certain foreign and domestic financial circles that the trust has not come to stay. The possibility of its sudden collapse, with the danger to society flowing therefrom, is discussed, while its final dissolution is affirmed with certainty. The views of these circles are best set forth in the opinions on the financial outlook in this country for 1904 expressed by the well-known French bourgeois economist, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in the financial review of "The Evening Post" of Dec. 31, 1903, as follows:

"M. Leroy-Beaulieu was asked another question: 'Do you see any dark spot—any storm centre—in our present financial condition?'

"Only a possible sudden breaking up of the Trusts, into which you have consolidated so many of your industries. That they will break up sooner or later, I am thoroughly convinced—just like all other artificial combinations for keeping up prices. But the difficulty may work itself out slowly without sudden shocks."

"In regard to the contention of certain American authorities, that the Trust idea has come to stay—that it is the beginning of an universal reorganization of industrial methods, M. Leroy-Beaulieu replied:

"I do not believe it. Of course, something always remains from the attempt to practise new methods; but general laws produce their effect in the long run. You must acknowledge even now that the only one of your Trusts which has fully succeeded is that of petroleum."

While it is evident that M. Leroy-Beaulieu makes the usual mistake of regarding the trust as an artificial product instead of an evolutionary growth, and thus places "general laws" against, instead of for, him, the question he raises is worthy of consideration. The question of the stability of the trust is a matter of no small concern to society in general and the socialist in particular. The sudden collapse of the trusts would mean wide-spread social disaster. Their gradual dissolution would mean a loss of economic savings that would be widely felt; for trust production is the most extensive and economic production, the high prices and low wages attending it, being mainly attributable to the avaricious desire for abnormal profits on the part of promoters and owners—of underwriting syndicates and controlling capitalists. The sudden collapse, or the gradual dissolution, of the trust, would deprive the socialist theory of the most powerful argument in its support and thereby render the socialist impotent. Thus, the importance of this question is apparent.

Are the trusts failures, as Paul Leroy-Beaulieu claims? A test of efficiency is progress and growth. Are the trusts progressing and growing? Let us see. The "Journal of Commerce" has compiled a list on industrial consolidations for 1903 that is interesting, when considered in connection with these questions. In the first place "The Journal of Commerce" states that

"It is generally admitted that the past financial year was prolific of reorganizations and bankruptcies of weakly organized concerns."

The worst of these were the Consolidated Lake Superior Company, a \$100,000,000 concern, which is still in the hands of a receiver, and the \$40,000,000 Shipbuilding Company, which is similarly situated.

"In addition reorganizations are at work upon the International Fire Engine Company, the White Mountain Paper Company, the National Bread Company, the New England Cotton Yarn Company, the General Asphalt Company, the Seacoast Canning Company, the Pacific Coast Packing and Navigation Company and the United States Cotton Duck Company."

This certainly looks bad for the trusts, but then there is another side to the medal.

"Old trusts and consolidations found it necessary to increase their capital stocks. A compilation of these increases shows that leading industrials added approximately \$125,000,000 to their capitalization and \$25,000,000 to their bonded debt."

Next it is shown that despite the unfavorable conditions of capitalist affairs during 1903, the capitalization of the new corporations, consolidations and trusts formed amounted to \$425,870,000, or one-third of the total capitalization of those formed in 1902.

"Among the more important industrial trusts formed in 1903 is the United Lead Company, with a capital of \$25,000,000 and a bond issue of \$12,000,000. This company now owns many formerly independent shot, pipe and sheet lead manufacturing, together with white lead manufacturing. Its controlling interests are identified with the American Smelting and Refining Company. It is in a measure a competitor of the National Lead Company."

"The E. I. Dupont-De Nemours Powder Company, with a capital of \$50,000,000, is another important consolidation of the year, being a consolidation of two important powder companies."

In addition to the above "The Journal of Commerce" gives the following as

"Some of the leading concerns which

were formed and launched during 1903:

Alaska Peninsula Packing Company	\$2,750,000
American Window Machine	
Glass	20,000,000
American Stogie Co.	11,000,000
Acolian Weber Piano Co.	10,000,000
American Seeding Machine Co.	15,000,000
Cleveland-Akron Bag Co.	2,000,000
National Packing Co.	15,000,000
National Car Wheel Co.	10,750,000
National Novelty Corporation	10,000,000
National Steel and Wire Co.	10,000,000
E. I. Dupont-De Nemours Powder Co.	50,000,000
Federal Mining and Smelting Co.	30,000,000
American Barrel and Packing Co.	5,000,000
Pioneer Shaft and Pole Co.	3,750,000
Southern Textile Co.	14,000,000
Pennsylvania Coal and Coke Co.	24,000,000
Standard Wall Paper Co.	1,250,000
South Baltimore Steel Car and Foundry Co.	1,000,000
United Lead Company	37,000,000
Waterbury and Co.	1,250,000
Total for 1903	\$274,710,000"

This imposing array of increased capitalization for old, together with the capitalization for new, consolidations offsets the capitalization affected by the receiverships and bankruptcies of the weakly organized concerns. When this imposing array is added to the capitalization of the trusts created prior to 1903, it shows the trust to be growing instead of declining. Considering that with the successive concentration of industries, the field for trust formation contracts, and the conclusion becomes inevitable that, despite the opinion of M. Leroy-Beaulieu to the contrary notwithstanding, the trust is here to stay.

The anthracite miners are reported to be very sick of Carroll D. Wright as umpire as he decides against them regularly. The trouble with the miners is that they do not understand their position in labor controversies as well as Carroll D. Wright does his. The result is that he always acts logically, while they never do.

The high-handed military proceedings in Colorado continue unabated. According to the latest reports the military authorities have decided to drive all the striking miners out of Cripple Creek, and not permit them to return. This is certainly the limit. Such action is without any vestige or pretense of justice. Yet the worthy Governor of that State, one Peabody, says it is all done to uphold the law. This is as true as his statement of two weeks ago that the strikes in Colorado are ended!

A capitalist paper states that 13 per cent of the total population of the United States share directly in the earnings of American railways and that \$85,000,000 of these earnings go to foreign stockholders and \$1,084,447,408 is divided among 1,189,315 employees and 1,000,000 stock and bondholders, in the ratio of five-eighths to the capitalists and three-eighths to the workers. The workers who do the labor get 40 per cent and the idle capitalists 60 per cent. The idler risks nothing, the workers sacrifice annually fully 20 per cent of their number in killed and crippled. That is capitalism.

A despatch from McKeesport, Pa., states that more than 5,000 shares of United States Steel stock held by employees of the corporation whose wages were reduced have been surrendered. It would be interesting to know if this surrender was accompanied by a restitution of the installments paid on the stock or not; and if restitution was made whether it was made on the basis of the price paid for the stock at the time of its purchase, or at the greatly decreased price it would now bring in the stock market. It looks as though the owners of these shares, these "part owners of the trust," had been badly bummed. Score another point in favor of "profit-sharing" and "co-operation!"

In Washington, D. C., a sentence in an address by Justice Harlan, of the Supreme Court, is exciting much comment. It is as follows:

"Let us hope that this great instrument, which has served so well, will weather the storms which the ambitions of certain men are creating in an effort to make this country a world power."

The capitalists in control of the country will get Justice Harlan, if he don't watch out. It will not do to intimate that they are subserving the Constitution to their interests.

There is nothing small about the capitalist. He believes in taking all the law—of supply and demand—allows. This will account for the modest request of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, N. Y., that its moulders accept a wage cut of 33 1/3 per cent.

Bryan has come back and advocates a campaign on moral principles. According to his plutocratic fellow capitalists, Bryan and moral principles are unacquainted with each other. But that's all a matter of class interest.

The flint bottle manufacturers of the middle West and Western States have decided to restrict production by closing down all factories for a period of from four to six weeks. Thus "the sphere of influence" of the panic is ever widening.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I think Socialists would progress faster if they held more to American language.

UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which? B. J.—Many of their expressions are so utterly un-American.

U. S.—Mention one. B. J.—They will talk about our "wage slaves;" now here in America we have no such thing; we have no wage slaves.

U. S.—We haven't! I!

B. J.—No!

U. S.—What do you call the weavers of New England, who signed a petition against the Wilson bill against their will?

B. J.—Cowards.

U. S.—Is it cowardice that compels a slave to submit to the lash of the master?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—Those bosses stood to those weavers as slave drivers to their slaves. Their wages, their lives, and those of their whole family depended upon their signing; if they had not, they would have been discharged; discharge means to the wage worker starvation, at least temporarily, possibly permanently.

B. J.—Yes, indeed.

U. S.—How is it with the miners who are ordered to "suggest" a reduction of wages—

B. J.—And do they "suggest"?

U. S.—Most assuredly; else they would be wholly reduced.

B. J.—Pretty tough!

U. S.—How is it with the railway employees who are enjoined by the courts from striking?

B. J.—Damn those courts!

U. S.—How is it with the shoemakers who are made to sign a declaration that they will join the Tobin union?

B. J.—They are in a bad fix.

U. S.—How about the express employees in New York and street car conductors in the West and California who are not given a job before they sign away all their rights?

B. J.—Hellish; damnable!

U. S.—In short, how about all the wage workers—the sole producers, directly and indirectly, of all our untold wealth—who are allowed to keep only a small portion, starvation wages, out of their own product?

B. J.—Well, is that the cause—why, certainly it is!

U. S.—It being so, are these people slaves or are they not?

B. J.—It looks that way.

U. S.—Do you remember what John Adams said: He put it this way: "The workingman who gets just enough wages to live on is not essentially different from the slave who gets the things he needs at short hand; we call the one free, the other slave, but the distinction is imaginary only."

B. J.—Too true!

U. S.—Guess Adams was a good authority on Americanism?

B. J.—Guess he was.

U. S.—Now, Brother Jonathan, there is this good feature about you: However full of jingo prejudice you may be, you are not pig-headed and you will throw off an error when you discover it. But there are in this land of ours a lot of fellows with whom the jingoism is so fast grown that it can't be shaken. The reason of it is that they are ignorant, are too perverse to admit it, and are insolent enough to talk about things they do not understand. I could mention to you scores of such specimens.

The Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters' Union of America is going to fight the proposed cut in wages. Like all the trades unions that have already submitted to wage reductions, it is not opposed to them, provided they do not exceed 10 per cent. But, since it is intimated that the reductions might be more than 10 per cent, it is asserted that the furnacemen will "strenuously oppose them."

In this connection, the question suggests itself, if the unions are compelled to accept a 10 per cent. cut, by what means can they oppose a 20 per cent. one? It may be that the greater reduction will develop greater determination to fight to the last ditch, and in this way bring latent resources to bear on the final results, results that may make employers more willing to compromise and less anxious to embark in wholesale slashing of wages. With the present condition of affairs, in which corporations are retrenching and utilizing shutdowns to improve their plants in anticipation of the revival of business, however, strikes are more likely to be welcomed than opposed by employers; and when they do occur they will resolve themselves into tests of endurance, with the odds in favor of the employers.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. REMIND THEM: OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

HEARST DAY IN LOS ANGELES.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The exploited wage slaves in the coal fields of Pennsylvania had their "Mitchell Day," the pure and simple tribe in Los Angeles could not rest contented until they had their "Hearst Day." The great event in Los Angeles came off on December 12, and pure and simpledom smashed the idols it formerly worshipped and set up a new one in the person of W. R. Hearst.

The fight going on among the capitalist daily papers in this city at present would be amusing enough were it not for the part that the "organized labor" element plays in it. The Los Angeles Examiner has been successfully launched, and Hearst is acclaimed "the champion of labor" and executioner of the boycotted Times, and every benighted pure and simple, hereabouts at least, is accordingly happy.

In its initial edition the Examiner announces its policy, which is: "To stand for and conserve the interests of all the people and special privileges for none." Further on in fat type we read that it will fight relentlessly anything that smacks of class hatred. But these are precisely the principles that the Times is shouting from the housetops, yet we have the spectacle of the trades unions acclaiming one the saviour and calling a devil incarnate the other, who must be exterminated, enjoining upon its members the sacred duty to exert themselves to the utmost to bring about that happy event.

In the meantime the Times goes on building up and enlarging its plant, as it did in the past, and, in the face of a fierce boycott waged against it many years, during which time it developed from an insignificant crossroad sheet of no particular value into its present position of eminence and power. Well may the Times look with good natured contempt upon the Quixotic fight that is made against it. The loss of a few advertisers and subscribers, which it sustained since the advent of the Examiner, it cheerfully admits. The Times is in the happy position to occupy a field in the journalistic world which the yellow, would-be, trust-smashing Examiner could not occupy if it wanted to. We know from experience that it is idle to talk of smashing the trusts; but neither is it possible to smash the plutocratic organ of the trusts.

The Times at all times upholds and defends the interests of the large capitalists with all the means at its command. The weapons which it yields in its warfare against the working class are not to be despised; its striking arm fell more than once with crushing force upon the thick heads of the pure and simple, likewise, we the class conscious workers, have felt its power. The position of the Times seems secured as long as capitalism exists.

It is different with the Los Angeles Herald, the erstwhile rival of the Times, however. It vegetates along and seemingly keeps from dying merely to save funeral expenses—a milk and water publication, independent in politics, it sets its sails to catch every breeze. It held a high card with the trades unions, that accordingly boosted it, until Hearst stepped upon the scene. Changed conditions are driving the owner of the Herald rapidly into the arms of his former enemy, General H. G. Otis, of the Times; that same labor element that but yesterday acclaimed him with hosannas is already beginning to howl "Crucify him!"

The "labor" demonstration on the night of December 12 in honor of Hearst was talked about months before it occurred, and weeks were consumed in active preparation. Ostensibly it was the Los Angeles County Council of Labor that arranged it; but in reality it was that very prolific mother of labor fakirs and capitalist steers, the International Typographical Union, that pushed it, and to whom Hearst owes a debt of gratitude for the boosting of this, his latest business enterprise.

Organized labor over the whole of Southern California, from Mexico north to the Tehachapi Pass, was set into a ferment and coaxed into coming here and taking part in it. An invitation was also sent to J. M. Lynch, the president of the Typographical Union, to come and see the Times "buried." And the dupes did come—not the large hosts that Hearst routers said would follow the call of this modern Piper of Hamelin, but delegations came from every direction, and paid their own expenses.

Eleven thousand men were to be in line. The figures published by the Examiner on the day following nearly touched that number, but the other papers put the number of paraders at 2,800 and some odd. This is also the number counted at the S. L. P. headquarters when the procession filed past it.

There was plenty of music, tin horns and red lights, but little genuine enthusiasm. Can it be that a sense of their degradation to allow themselves to be thus used made itself felt among the paraders as they marched along?

As a fitting climax of the whole of this vulgar bourgeois turnout, the leaders, after the parade, held a sort of jollification meeting, where they met with representatives of Mr. Hearst, and now many of the good union men are wondering whether the boosting of the Hearst "news" on the part of their leaders

was so entirely disinterested, and, moreover, since the money to pay the expenses of it all had to come out of the union treasuries. Well, well! Thus we are furnished with another chapter how the pure and simple union is used to buttress capitalism!

Nothing that ever happened could so forcibly illustrate the difference between the class conscious militants of the working class, establishing, building up and supporting our own press, and the class-unconscious trades unionists building up the press of the enemy. But this demonstration also serves to show the kindliness and deep sense of gratitude which animates the honest rank and file in their unions and moves them to apotheosize a supposed friend, which, if properly directed, could be of great benefit to them, whereas now, used as it is, will and must shackle them tighter.

Let us not be deceived, but lay the blame where it belongs, namely, in the first instance, at the door of the labor fakir. Therefore, Comrades, everywhere, up and at them.

Press Committee,
Section Los Angeles, S. L. P.
Los Angeles, Cal., December 29.

"IL PROLETARIO" CONVICTS ITSELF

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I hope that in your fairness you will publish the following statements in reply to the open letter published in the issue of The Daily People of the 1st inst.

Having received the article of Edw. J. Gallo and read it with attention, I sent him a letter in which I explained the reasons why I did not believe I could publish his reply to G. M. Parrasio.

First, I told him, his article was not correct in this statement. I did not refer only to some grammatical mistakes that I could have easily mended, but to a general lack of logical connection. The principal reason, though, for my unwillingness to publish it was that the whole reasoning started from a misconception of Parrasio's views on the subject. Parrasio did not affirm that the S. D. P. was a bona fide Socialist party, because they were in favor of the municipalization of public utilities or of cooperative enterprises, as Gallo understood; but that the fact of their accepting municipalization and co-operation in their programme was not a sufficient proof of their not being a bona fide Socialist party, as municipalization and co-operation are in the programmes of all European Socialist parties.

I also told Gallo that his article was more of a personal attack than anything else. Gallo seems to know what I told him in my letter. Why, then, does he not say he received it?

My frequent publishing in "Il Proletario" of articles expressing opinions contrary to my views support the truth of my statement, as indicated in Gallo's open letter.

V. H. Tedeschi.

January 2, 1904.

(The above is a complete verification and justification of the essence of Comrade Gallo's charges against Editor Tedeschi of "Il Proletario." Editor Tedeschi has been claiming that he wants to see a full and free discussion of the issues in "Il Proletario." Gallo thereupon answers an anonymous writer styled "Parrasio," whose article appeared in "Il Proletario." Thereupon Editor Tedeschi takes it upon himself to decide that Gallo's article "lacks logical connection" and that "the whole reasoning started from a misconception of Parrasio's views," etc.—all of which was matter for the readers of "Il Proletario" to decide, and not for the alleged free discussion-craving Editor to pass upon. The only thing that an Editor has a right and a duty to pass upon in such matters is the length and the parliamentary tone of a disputant,—if the article is unbearably long, or if the language it uses is unpatriotic, because ungentelemanly, then, and only then, is its exclusion proper. The more "mistaken," "lacking in logical connection," or "misconception of reasoning" an article is guilty of in a discussion, the more completely would it defeat itself by publication. The grounds above given by Editor Tedeschi himself convict him of arbitrariness and of conduct that, all pretences to the contrary notwithstanding, is calculated to suppress instead of promote clearness among the disputants. We knew it would be so. The recent conduct of the Serrati-Tedeschi set made it clear to us in advance. Others did not see it so clearly. It is well that they now recognize the fact and cease giving any support to a concern that required frankness on the S. L. P.'s part with duplicity and double-facedness, a concern that is intent upon keeping the Italian workers of America back at the immature stage of the movement in Italy and thereby a prey to American fakirism; finally, a concern whose impartiality and non-partisanship begins and ends with a readiness to accept the pennies of all sides.—Ed. The People.)

THE OPEN LETTER TO TEDESCHI

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I read Tedeschi's reply to my open letter, and I wish to state that I never received any letter from him. Although this incident has little bearing on the matter under discussion, I do not wish to be accused of double dealing.

The information I received was from Comrade Gialdino, who is well known to Tedeschi.

E. J. Gallo.

W. Hobbs, N. J., Jan. 5.

EMPLOYERS USING GOMPERS' MAGAZINE TO PROMOTE THEIR INTERESTS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—If the American Federation of Labor stands for the interest of the workingman, what is the meaning of the following information, according to which it seems to me that it is nothing but a sugar-tit organization for the purpose of keeping the workmen quiet. Here in Lowell, in the Biglow Carpet Mills, on Market street, one day last week the assistant agent of the company, M. Fairbank, brought in to the president of the Brussels Carpet Weavers' Union some copies of the American Federationist to be distributed among the weavers. They contained the editorial on the defeat of the Socialist resolution at the Boston convention. Now, where did the agent get those papers? Did he buy them to give to the weavers, or did Sammy send them along?

The agent at the present time has got to have something to keep his workmen and women quiet, and to draw their attention away from the system he is about to introduce in the mill, the clock system. This system is not agreeable to the people in the carpet mill, they say they will not stand for it, and there is likely to be trouble. The Lowell Machine Shop adopted this system over a year ago, and from the men there we hear nothing but condemnation of the man that invented and the companies that use it. If any one goes to the closet he must press the button, and when he comes back he must press it, if he leaves the machine at all he must press it.

In these mills the men are not allowed to rest more weight on one leg than on the other when tired standing, or they will get discharged. Some of them were discharged a little over a year ago for being members of the Machinists' Union. I do not know all the uses they have this clock for. This is the system the Biglow Carpet Company is about to introduce in their factory. So the agent must get something to feed the minds of the pure and simple while they put the shackles on them so much the easier.

We wish The People, Daily and all the rest, a happy New Year. This coming year is the year for the Socialist Labor Party to do battle at the street corners on the soap box. Wake from your slumbers and drive the capitalist politician into a corner, so that they will fight. We will treat them as we did the Kangaroos—drive them off the field, so that the workers will despise them. Then we will soon catch them at their vote slicing tricks; when we do they will get all that is coming to them.

R. W. S.

Lowell, Mass., Jan. 3, 1904.

THE ENGLISH WAGE SLAVE.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—According to the best authorities, one-fifth of England is owned by 500 "titled lords" (capitalists), and they spend one-third of the total income of the country satisfying their vicious desires. Out of every 16 wage slaves' families 15 live on less than \$2 per day; every fifth family has nothing between it and starvation but the last week's wages, a result of the capitalist society and the private ownership of property operated for profit. Three out of four wage slaves die paupers, and are buried by the public, while 500 idle capitalists and their parasites, spend on an average of \$2,700,000 each in amusements. There are 1,000,000 wage slaves who are supported by charity.

Wage slaves and wealth producers, take warning of the above appalling condition of your class. Do not let your comrades perish because of the system of oppression made possible by capitalist governments, but arise and free yourselves by striking your first blow at the ballot box. Become a member of the only revolutionary party, the Socialist Labor Party, and make your fight for liberty, life and happiness. Down with our capitalist oppressors! Long live Revolutionary Socialism!

Albert L. Waterman.

Dorchester, Mass., Jan. 4.

SECTION LONDON'S LINE OF ACTION.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I have been instructed by Section London, Socialist Labor Party of Canada, to send the enclosed leaflet and have it published in our official organ, The People, in order to let the comrades of the United States and Canada know the line of action taken by Section London at the municipal elections to be held January 4, 1904. We only have three members who have the required qualifications, and none of them could see their way clear to have their names go before the electorate, hence the reason for our line of action. Fraternally yours,

F. Haselgrove.

London, Ont., Jan. 3, 1904.

(Enclosure.)

To The Electors of the City of London: Fellow Citizens—We are again on the eve of a municipal election, and for this reason we take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the electors to the injustice of the present form of laws governing municipal elections for cities of 30,000 inhabitants or upwards, namely, compelling candidates for municipal office to take the oath of qualification 24 hours after being nominated, otherwise their names would not appear on the ballot.

In the nineteenth century we had a right and privilege to place in nomination a fellow citizen whose name would appear on the ballot, and who would not have to qualify until after elected by the people, which right and privilege the people, the great majority of whom are members of the working class, have been

robbed of by special act of Parliament at Toronto under the Ross administration, the special bill being introduced by a Tory member for Hamilton (one Carscallen), a supporter of Whitney, thus showing by this action that both Grit and Tory have only one object in view—the suppressing of class legislation, and all efforts on the part of the working class to gain a voice in the Legislative halls of this country, either municipal or parliamentary.

To substantiate the statement that it was the working class that this special act of Parliament aimed at, we draw your attention to the fact that it only covered cities of 30,000 or upwards, which must necessarily be industrial centres, whose inhabitants are largely composed of workers, who should have the opportunity of being represented, if they so desired.

Why should there be such a thing in this advanced age as a property qualification for the electorate be sufficient qualification? In all times, under this present system of capitalism or private ownership—in the means of production and distribution, and of the land whereon to produce all of which are necessary for the maintenance of the people in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—arguments have been put up for property qualification, but when Benjamin Franklin, one of the leaders of the American revolution, said in reference to property qualification, "that if to vote a man had to be possessed of personal property to the amount of \$20, and if Jones owned a mule worth \$20, and the day before election said mule died, then I want to know who votes, the mule or Jones?" And in the present instance for which we write we want to know who represents us, Jones or the mule?

The Socialist Labor Party is composed of members of the working class, who advocate the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and the land, by the people, for the people. A system wherein every man, woman and child would be guaranteed proper food, proper clothing, and proper shelter, and a security therein. Therefore, the reason this party is not before the electors with candidates at this election is because, being members of the working class, they are robbed by that special act of Parliament herein referred to of the privilege still enjoyed by rural districts. And in closing we call on the working class, and all other honest citizens, to educate, advocate and agitate the complete abolition of all property and money qualifications for both municipal and parliamentary honors.

Committee, S. L. P.

LOWELL, MASS., ACTIVITY AND CONDITIONS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I write once more to let the readers of The People know what we are doing here. Local Alliance 407 is progressing favorably. We hold agitation and discussion meetings each Sunday afternoon and evening. This afternoon we had no speaker from out of town, so the local comrades took hold themselves, as they have done on several occasions, and made the meeting successful, Comrades Dana, Smith and Farrell speaking and answering questions.

One question in particular was asked, "Why do the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance denounce Gompers, Mitchell and the rest of the so-called labor leaders?" Comrade Dana handled the question very good, and showed to the audience, through the very actions of the "labor leaders," that they were misleaders of the working class. Every intelligent man knows that it is a person's actions that prove what he is, and not what he says.

I see by the report of the G. E. R., S. T. & L. A., that a local of the Alliance has been started in Augusta, Me. We are glad of it, and hope that in every city and town in the country a local and Section will be organized.

Work here is very dull. In almost every industry, especially in the woollen and cotton business, it has been the means of causing some of our members to vacate Lowell and seek work elsewhere, but wherever an S. L. P. or Alliance man goes he is working and talking for the cause which he holds so dear—the establishment of the Socialist Republic. When that is established we will not have to tramp from town to town trying to get a miserable living, as is the way under this terrible system of capitalism. Joseph Youngjohns, Organizer L. A. 407.

Lowell, Mass., Jan. 3.

SECTION KANSAS CITY'S GOOD SHOWING.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Kansas City elected new officers last Sunday (December 27), and the same were installed to-day (January 3), as follows: O. M. Howard, Organizer; T. J. Tanner, Financial Secretary; W. S. Engel, Secretary; J. W. McFall, Librarian, Literature and Party Press Agent; McFall, Engel and Howard, Press Committee; Tanner, Schwitzgebel and Howard, Grievance Committee; Engel, Schwitzgebel and Stief, Auditing Committee. Comrades Kadis, formerly of Denver, will join us next Sunday; both are good workers.

We now have the best working Section Kansas City has ever had, and we propose to do some effective work for the true movement this winter. All The People readers are invited to visit our headquarters, 216 Sterling Building, on evenings during the week and Sundays, 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Press Com.

Kansas City, Jan. 3, 1904.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Two hundred and ninety-five subscriptions to The Weekly People were received for the week ending Saturday January 9. That is quite an improvement over the previous week, and a good way to begin the new year. Increase this each week. A still larger number of subscriptions must be secured, if effective work is to be done during the campaign of 1904.

A great many new readers have been added to our list during the past six months, and we suggest to these new readers that those among them who realize the correctness of the principles and methods of the Socialist Labor Party should act on this realization and go among their friends and acquaintances and ask them to subscribe for The Weekly People, in order that they, too, may become enlightened to the same extent. To any one wishing to get subscriptions, the circulation department will gladly send a few sample copies and subscription blanks if they will let us hear from them.

Charles Pierson put in his last lick in San Antonio, Texas, stopping two days at El Paso. He then went on to Los Angeles, Cal. At the two first places named he secured sixty-two subscriptions for The Weekly People, spoke on street corners and sold a large number of books. He will now carry the war into California.

The comrades of East St. Louis, Ill., are few in number, but in the short space of one week they secured nineteen subscribers for The Weekly People. That is an excellent showing, and an example that should be followed by comrades everywhere.

Sections Milwaukee, Wis., and Cleveland, O., each take five dollars' worth of prepaid postal cards. West New Brighton, S. L. N. Y., takes a block of prepaid blanks.

Five or more subscriptions were sent in as follows: For the Weekly—August Clever, Bradlock, Pa., 9; Thirty-fourth A. D., New York, 9; Section Salt Lake City, 8; J. H. Wilton, West New Brighton, S. L. N. Y., 7; M. A. Overby, Minneapolis, Minn., 7; J. H. T. Juergens, Canton, O., 6; J. Viethaler, Milwaukee, Wis., 6; F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 6; B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 6; C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 6; Leon LaRoette, New Orleans, La., 5; V. Panovec, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., 6; J. Neumann, St. Louis, Mo., 5.

For the Monthly—J. C. Butterworth, Paterson, N. J., 10; B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 6; total, 65.

One comrade thinks where there is an agent it is a waste of money to send out postal cards to notify subscribers when their time will run out. But there are some places where neither the agent nor other members take the trouble to visit subscribers and ask them to renew. We have no way of knowing where it is done and where it is not done. Therefore, postal card notifications are sent to all subscribers. Those who do not renew are promptly taken off the mailing list. This applies to all readers, including those who have been subscribers for many years.

Any new subscribers wishing to have their subscriptions start with the first installment of "The Pilgrim's Shell" can be accommodated for a short time.

COMMENDS PUBLICATION OF "THE PILGRIM'S SHELL."

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I am much pleased to see a new departure promised in The People, viz., "The Pilgrim's Shell," from the pen of Eugene Sue. I think that stories dealing with historical facts and placing certain social problems in a light, interesting manner, is a good idea, and fills a long-felt want. I am sure that it will have a tendency to make the paper more popular, without compromising the straight, unbending revolutionary spirit that I hope to see in every reader of the paper.

Enclosed find three subscriptions for The Weekly People.

L. Hyde Park, Mass., Jan. 4.

MONTHLY PEOPLE READERS SUBSCRIBE FOR THE WEEKLY PEOPLE.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed please find two subs. for The Weekly People. I received your communication, with list of subs., to-day; will try and see Monthly subscribers and get them to renew for The Weekly. Up to date I got about six Monthly readers to subscribe for The Weekly.

Section Belleville will try to toe the fighting line the best they know how in the future. We are few in numbers, but are determined to carry on the fight. We will send more money to The Home-stretch Fund before New Year's.

Walter Goss.

Belleville, Ill., Dec. 10, 1903.

SECTION TACOMA'S OFFICERS.

On December 29, 1903, Section Tacoma elected the following officers for the next six months: Organizer, Rob McDonald; Recording Secretary, E. H. Carlson; Financial Secretary, William Carnegie; Literary Agent, Charles Martin; Press Agent, C. M. Carlson; Treasurer, J. C. Andersen; Grievance Committee, W. A. Herron, T. J. Sadler and Thomas Hutton; and Auditors, Thomas Hutton, W. A. Herron and E. M. Carlson.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A ROMA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

L. L., BOSTON, MASS.—It is the veriest case of "brass" for capitalists to affect horror at the "horrors of the French Revolution." That revolution was, from finish to start, a capitalist revolution; and all its horrors were perpetrated by the capitalist class. If and wherever members of the working class seemed to have a hand, they were merely the agencies, words in the hands of the directing capitalist revolutionists—the same as to-day they are in the butchering of Filipinos.

E. G., PATTERSON, N. J.—Fair, or literary drawings, of whatever description cannot be announced in these columns. It is against the Postal regulations, and could afford a wished-for opportunity to the Postal authorities to refuse mailing this paper. The warning has been given dozens of times before this.

F. B. J., LYNN, MASS.—Was the article you meant "Hailing their Own Death-birge"? If so, it was in The People of Nov. 9, 1902; and will be forwarded.

S. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Right you are. It was a typographical mistake. The sentence should read: "Liebknecht's masterly apothegm on the parliamentary attitude of the Socialist Movement was decorously shelved, by himself included," not excluded. The error was discovered before, and does not appear in The Weekly.

J. W. N., ST. LOUIS, MO.—The cartoon was duly received, and duly appreciated. It certainly reproduces well the plight of the said Kangaroo, between the sword of the S. L. P. and wall of the Gompers brigade. It is fine. May yet publish it.

X. X., WINNIPEG, MAN., CANADA.—That press does not necessarily make against the "American Labor Union Journal." In payment for advs., papers often receive railroad tickets. The case of Coats' pass, given in the "Indictment," that attests.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—The request comes from Lowell, Mass., for information whether there is any labor trouble in the weaving mills of Trenton, N. J. The Springfield, Mass., "Republican" is advertising for 30 weavers for Trenton. Some of the unemployed in Lowell would like to go, provided they are not wanted as strike breakers. Fail not to answer.

W. S., CLEVELAND, O.—Possibly! Quite possibly S. L. P. men frequently use the arguments made in The People. Why should they not? But there is this difference between such S. L. P. men and the S. P. or S. D. P. plagiarizers who learn by heart whole speeches from the S. L. P. and passages from The People, and then reel them off. The difference is this: If asked questions, the S. L. P. man is not stumped; all the tenets and actions of the S. L. P. converge and are consistent; hence a question does not disconcert the S. L. P. man. On the contrary, however, a question throws the plagiarizing S. P. or S. D. P. chap on his heels; he is disconcerted; he only repeats "like a parrot, and the contradictory attitude of his party disables him from grasping and defending the views that he parrots.

A. J., LADNER, B. C.—Are you not weak on your Marx? The only principle of political economy that Marx declares expressly that he is the discoverer of—and a pregnant discovery it is—is the principle of the "use value" quality of the merchandise labor-power, along with its "exchange value." The "use value" of corn is to feed; of clothing to impart warmth (in winter); of diamonds to please; and so forth—qualities that are irrespective of their "exchange value" of the merchandise labor-power is that IT PRODUCES MORE WEALTH THAN ITS EXCHANGE VALUE (THE THEORETICAL WAGES) AMOUNT TO. Consequently, taking up your instance, if under given conditions, and working ten hours a day, a working man produces one lamp, the lamp represents an amount of wealth that consists of two parts: one part, the wealth paid to the workman as the "exchange value" of his labor-power (his theoretical wages) and which must reappear in his product; and another part, which consists of the new wealth, the increased amount of wealth, the yielding of which is the use value of the merchandise labor-power, and for the sake of which quality, or use value, it is at all bought by the capitalist. It follows that, if the workingman produces one lamp, the value of his total product is, besides the "exchange value" of his labor-power, the new value yielded by its "use value"; if, with better machinery and the same ten hours, he produces five lamps, the value of his total product is now—besides the "exchange value" of his labor-power, just as before,—the five times as large new value yielded by the now five times as fruitful "use value" of his labor-power. And so on. Thus, "the more the workingman produces, the larger is the value of his total product." Hence it is that—seeing the capitalist purchaser of the merchandise labor-power appropriates, as every purchaser does, the full "use value" of the goods he purchases, labor-power in this instance—all the new values and the increased production, that improved methods make possible, go to the capitalist, while the workingman remains with his nose to the grinding stone, where he is bound to remain, so long as labor-power, which means himself, remains an article of merchandise,—that is, so long as capitalism lasts.

In this clear? Answer if it is. Answer what would happen if the Socialist Labor Party, due to the discredit that the "Socialist reformers" are throwing upon the word Socialism, were to change its name? Just so soon as the new name

was again made respected and feared, a new set of "reformers" would try monkey shins with it. The S. L. P. would have to be shedding old names as it moved along. The better way is to fight the "reformers" and thus keep our honored name clean—and "wait till the clouds roll by."

T. J. T., KANSAS CITY, MO.—Your letter got buried under the mass of letters on the Letter Box file. What the census does reveal under the electric light of Socialist Science is that the wage-earning class of the United States is fully 53 per cent., if not 55, of the population. Mr. Casson's figures are defective, in that he takes only some of the figures that the census gives, and he is interestedly unable to digest the other figures. It is as stupid to cite the figures for some of the categories of the proletariat, and give them as the total for the proletariat of the land, as it would be to cite the population of 30 out of the 45 States, and trot that out as the total population of the country. For the rest, it is just like Mr. Thaddeus R. Wakeman to be taken in by "Cassonian statistics."

A. L. W., DORCHESTER, MASS.—Experience warns this office against starting a serial before having in hand the full set. Get up the full set on New Zealand.

P. B., NEW YORK.—The date is taken.

F. H., WASHINGTON, D. C.—People who seek to dispose of this paper with saying: "The People is abusive" are charming people to toss on one's horns. It is the easiest thing to prove to them that what they object to is not "abuse"—they out-Herod Herod in abusiveness—but in the application of caps of conclusions that fit their heads, and that overthrow either their illusions, or their secret and unhalloved interests. For the rest, The People does not fight with spit-balls, and every shot it fires goes home, and the reputation it has by this time for being a good shot, should be enough to cause anyone, who hears one of these shots for the first time, to quietly make his own inquiries. He will find the "abuse" well justified.

The complaint made by your Washington freak S. P.'s recalls a good story, perhaps told before in these columns. It is this: When Andrew Jackson was President, an old Tennessee acquaintance called upon him in Washington. Jackson was warning his back against the big fireplace. "Halloo, you here in Washington! And looking mad! What's up?" "Mr. President," the Tennesseean answered in a towering rage, "you don't know what they are up to down in Tennessee!" "What are they up to?" "They are insulting me! They are abusing me!" "What are they saying?" "They are saying that I steal horses, the scamps!" "Well," drawled Old Hickory, "can they prove it?" "That's just the worst of it," answered the irate Tennesseean; "they did!"

SECTION PASSAIC COUNTY, S. L. P., N. J.—The request has come in for the votes cast in Paterson in 1902 and 1903 by the S. L. P. and the S. P., alias S. D. P. Forward same.

H. D. MT., ROANOKE, VA.—Could you not locate the article in point of time? Fix some date, and it will be looked up.

D. J., WATERBURY, CT.—A sprint is one thing; to run all day is another. That explains why so many get talked-out, written out, tired out, and fall by the way.

H. T. J., NEW YORK.—The funny side comes next. You will see in this issue a translation from a German Social Democratic humorous paper, presenting wittily what our review of the Dresden Congress presented seriously. The matter is understood there well.

A. G. A., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH—(1) The letter stops where you thought; (2) Ed. W. Grant, Bingham, Utah; (3) December 20, 1902.

T. C., OMAHA, NEB.—(1) The article in which the Irish were pronounced "corrupt to the marrow," and was endorsed by the editorial heading "what must be must be" appeared in the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" last November, the 15th.

G. H., GUTTENBERG, N. J.; A. L., KANSAS CITY; D. T. J., TROY, N. Y.; "SAVYER STREET" NEW BEDFORD, MASS.; F. J. W., ALBANY, N. Y.; R. A., FORT EDWARD, N. Y.; S. S., NEW YORK; T. O. N., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; K. B. C., LONDON, ONT.; A. A. J., LONDON, ENG.—Matter received.

FOSKEA SMITH.

Whereas, The unexpected death of our active and esteemed comrade, Foskea Smith, has left a vacant place in our ranks. It has also made a happy husband a mourning widower and left a number of small children motherless; therefore, be it

Resolved, by Section Detroit, S. L. P., in regular meeting assembled, to extend our hearty sympathy to the family of E. Smith and relatives, in their hour of grief; and be it further

Resolved, That we double our efforts in the propagation of Socialism, and in the building up of the party organization, in which the departed was such an active and valuable member, and abolish the capitalist system of production which, to a great extent, brought about the early death of our beloved comrade; and be it further

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Regular meeting held on January 8, with A. Gillhaus in the chair. The financial report showed receipts in the amount of \$132.82; expenditures, \$115.53. The treasurer of the committee having resigned some time ago, Timothy Walsh was elected to fill the vacancy.

Communications: From the Texas S. E. C., about the street car strike at San Antonio and other matters. From San Francisco, Cal., reporting the reorganization of the Section, and that the application had been forwarded to the S. E. C. From the Colorado S. E. C., to the effect that the secretary had left Denver, and giving the new address where communications are to be sent. From Salt Lake City, Utah, reporting the work of the Section for circulation of the Party press and how that work was, for the time being, hindered by weather conditions. From Section Vancouver, B. C., reporting the expulsion of Charles E. Becker, alias J. Wilson Becker, for conduct unbecoming a member. From the Massachusetts S. E. C., asking that the correspondence between the New York Labor News Co. and their sub-committee be temporarily placed at their disposal; granted. From Albany, N. Y., nominating Albany for the convention city; ditto from Lowell, Mass., nominating New York City. From Pittsburgh, Kan., containing an application for a charter for a new Section organized at Frontenac, Kan. From Kansas City, Mo., reporting that the Section there is now in good shape and is gaining new members. From Columbus, O., relative to grievance not being tried by the Section. The accompanying information being incomplete, the secretary had written to Columbus and the Ohio S. E. C. to obtain more facts. This was approved of. From Newark, N. J., several letters, with statements as to grievances. The secretary having replied that he would attend the next meeting of that Section, his action was approved of. From Missouri S. E. C., about a number of matters, reporting the getting of new members, the work done for circulation, and the prospective formation of a Section.

Section of officers was reported by Sections Lynn, Mass.; Pawtucket, R. I.; New Haven, Conn.; election of officers; Lincoln, Neb.; Lawrence, Mass.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Section officers and members of S. E. C.; Pasco, Wash.; S. E. C.; Denver, Colo.; Cleveland, O.; Louisville, Ky.; Newark, N. J.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Section officers and members of S. E. C. The latter Section also asked for speaker some time in March, and that, if possible, a tour be arranged.

Resolved to have call for general vote relative to representation at the International Congress.

Adjourned.
Edward C. Schmidt, Recording Secy.

MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.
Meeting of Massachusetts S. E. C. for the purpose of organizing the General Committee of 1904 called to order by John R. Oldham, chairman of the S. E. C., in Boston, on January 8, 1904. Oldham, Henry, began, Young, Elder present.

Grievances: Milbury, Chester, Nelson and Coyle absent.
Minutes read and approved.

Due to the snowstorm which was raging, the General Committee of 1904 failed to appear, and the meeting adjourned to meet at 1103 Tremont street, Boston, on Sunday, January 10, at 11 a. m. when the General Committee are requested to be present, to a man, for the purpose of organizing the General Committee of 1904.

Michael T. Berry, Secy.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 27, 1903.
Regular meeting Massachusetts S. E. C. called to order by the chairman, John R. Oldham. Oldham, Coyle, Hagan, Boyer, Young, Chester and Nelson present; Helberg, Enger and Greenman absent. Reading of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications: From N. E. C., on line of that body in the matter of Massachusetts S. E. C. vs. Labor News Co., accepted and Secretary ordered to prepare the statement of the S. E. C. on the matter for the N. E. C., and to ask for the use of the letters sent Labor News Co. and all other information that the S. E. C. or the comrades of Massachusetts may be able to give.

Bill of John F. Coyle for \$5 for car fare, ordered paid.
Report of vote for secretary and treasurer was rendered, and Michael T. Berry, of Lynn, and Dyer Enger, of Boston, were declared elected as secretary and treasurer of the General Committee of 1904, and the secretary ordered to notify Comrade Enger of his election.

Report of committee on getting out the State constitution of the party, as amended, was accepted, and the secretary ordered to get 500 copies printed.
Request of Section Boston, asking for limited bill of account between S. E. C.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
WINDLASS'S COUGHING SYRUP
Cures Croup, Whooping Cough, Sore Throat, Hoarseness, Asthma, Bronchitis, Hay Fever, and all the ailments of the Throat and Lungs. It is a sure and safe remedy, and is sold in every part of the world.

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and Section Boston, granted and secretary ordered to furnish the same.

Corresponding secretary reports that he has prepared circular letter to Sections and asks for further orders, and he is directed to have 300 copies printed and sent to Sections at once.

Agitation Committee reports on the work of State Organizers in Woburn and Lawrence, and the report is accepted as progressive.

Ordered that the S. E. C. start a special organizer fund for the Greater Boston district, Jas. F. Stevens, 16 Lynde street, Boston, to have charge.

Comrade Stevens reports that for this fund two Salem comrades have each pledged \$5, that one comrade in Boston has pledged \$5 and that other comrades have been heard from favoring the plan.

The committee in charge of raising \$150 for The Weekly People contest, through Stevens reported that \$50 had been received from the Scandinavian Socialist Club of Boston, \$30.50 from numbers and sympathizers and turned over to the S. E. C. the names of twelve persons who pledged themselves for \$1 each and one who agreed to pay \$3. Report accepted as progress. Adjourned.

Michael T. Berry,
Secretary Mass. S. E. C.

Boston, Mass., Jan. 2, 1904.

Meeting of the Massachusetts State Committee called to order by John R. Oldham, of Lynn, for the purpose of organizing the State (Legal) Committee of 1904.

John R. Oldham, of Lynn, was nominated and elected chairman of the committee for the ensuing year.

Michael T. Berry, of Lynn, was nominated and elected secretary of the committee for 1904.

John Sweeney, of Cambridge, was nominated and elected treasurer of the committee.

Voted, that we elect an Executive Committee of nine members, of whom the chairman, secretary and treasurer shall be members.

Dyer Enger, of Boston; Thomas P. Brennan, of Salem; John F. Coyle, of Lynn; Joseph U. Schugel, of Waltham; Jas. F. Stevens, of Boston, and Jeremiah O'Reilly, of Abington, were elected to serve, in conjunction with the chairman, secretary and treasurer of the Massachusetts State Committee, as the Executive Committee of that body for 1904.

Voted, that power be given chairman and secretary to call meetings of the Executive Committee at any time.

Voted, that the secretary of this committee procure the proper form of resignation blank, and get the resignations (state left blank) of all members of the State Committee, and turn them over to the General Committee of the Party.

Adjourned subject to call of chairman and secretary.

Michael T. Berry, Secretary.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Socialist Labor Party, Section New York.

A regular meeting of the General Committee was held at 2-6 New Reade street on Saturday, January 2, 1904.

Chairman, H. Deutsch; Vice Chairman, S. Wanner. Twelve new delegates were seated. Four new members were admitted. The Organizer's action in engaging Grand Central Palace for a Daily People festival on Sunday, March 20, 1904, was indorsed.

Under the report of the New York County Committee, a request to take a general vote on the question of monthly, instead of semi-monthly, meetings for the County Committee was denied.

The following nominations of officers and committees were made for the ensuing term:

Organizer and Financial Secretary—L. Abelson.

Recording Secretary—A. C. Kuhn.

Treasurer—M. Heyman, F. A. Olpp.

Credential Committee—A. Sater, A. Moore, E. Moonells, S. Wanner, Wm. E. Moore.

Grievance Committee—C. C. Crawford, G. A. Moore, Edmund Moonells, H. Deutsch, A. C. Kuhn.

Entertainment Committee—Mrs. F. Brounman, M. Heyman, Geo. Abelson, Edmund Moonells, A. Sater, Pina Fisher, P. Delz, J. Nickerson, J. Kelly, P. Walsh, J. Scherer, A. Gillhaus.

Delegates D. A. 40, S. T. & L. A.—S. Wanner, A. Francis, A. Sater.

Auditing Committee, Section New York—Arthur Samuels, A. Rubinke, P. M. Frazee, Adam Moore, Emil Mueller.

Auditing Committee, State and National—F. A. Olpp, C. C. Crawford, A. Francis, Adam Moore.

Sergeant-at-Arms—F. A. Olpp, A. Wolenschlager, A. Gillhaus, Ivor Boldelli, John Donohue.

The Fourteenth Assembly District, Manhattan, was instructed to produce its minutes at the next regular session of the General Committee.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. Kuhn, Recording Secy.

DE LEON IN PATERSON, N. J.

Section Passaic County has arranged a number of lectures for the winter season. The lectures will be held in Helvetia Hall. The first one will take place on Sunday, January 17, at 2:30 p. m. Subject: "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism; New and Old Trade Unions; the Causes that Lead to Failure of the Old; Why Wages are Reduced in Spite of Trade Unions," by Daniel De Leon, editor of The Daily People. If the readers of The People wish a treat they should attend and bring their friends.

FOURTH OF JULY PICNIC.

Total amount received from M. Heyman, treasurer.....\$161.99

THE DAILY PEOPLE HOME-STRETCH FUND.

UNDER THIS HEAD WILL BE PUBLISHED ALL DONATIONS MADE FOR THE LAST FINAL EFFORT TO CLEAR UP THE BALANCE OF THE DEBT ON THE DAILY PEOPLE PRINTING PLANT. THAT BALANCE, ON NOVEMBER 15, WAS \$4,943, PLUS INTEREST. WATCH AND SEE HOW THE FIGURES OF THE "HOME-STRETCH FUND" GET UP TO IT.

Previously acknowledged\$2,591.50
A. Rubinke, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3.00
J. E. Alexander, New York 2.00
C. Ganser, New York, N. Y. 1.00
C. Mercer, Bridgeport, Conn. 2.00
F. Lighter, Glace Bay, N. S., Canada 5.00
Schultz, Newport News, Va. 5.00
J. Leach, Providence, R. I. 3.00
G. Hasseler, Detroit, Mich. 10.00
P. Freisema, Jr., Detroit, Mich. 10.00
A. Fabinski, Detroit, Mich. 5.00
J. McKay, New Westminster, B. C., Canada 10.00
Section Jacksonville, Ill. 25.00
J. Nagle, Chicago, Ill. 5.00
Park Orchestra, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
S. Kopland, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.00
M. Blank, New York, N. Y. 1.00
J. Waltzen, New York, N. Y.25
L. Goldstein, New York, N. Y.25
F. H. College Point, L. I. 1.00
G. Thibault, San Francisco, Cal. 3.00
Cash, Canton, O. 1.00
C. B. Canton, O. 1.50
A. Vitak, Canton, O. 1.00
J. Jurgens, Canton, O. 1.00
T. Goerke, Canton, O.50
E. Gidley, Newburgh, N. Y. 1.00
H. Bortner, Newburgh, N. Y. 1.00
H. Alabin, Cleveland, O. 2.00
J. Hurwitz, New York, N. Y. 3.00
S. Kubicki, New York, N. Y. 2.00
C. Nickerson, New York, N. Y. 3.00
F. B. Sullivan, New York, N. Y. 1.00
A. Schramm, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3.00
A. Salenberger, Portland, Ore. 1.00
Section Erie, Pa. 5.00
A. Abel, Somerdale, O. 1.00
W. Cooper, Somerdale, O. 1.00
J. Slater, Somerdale, O. 3.00
Section Somerdale, O. 5.00
O. N. Sherring, Somerdale, O. 1.00
A. Herberger, Somerdale, O. 1.00
J. Witting, Somerdale, O. 1.00
Section Allegheny County, Pa. 1.00
E. Markley and A. Clever collected as follows:
J. Daiberger 1.50
O. Jaeger 1.50
J. Frederick 1.00
W. Sent 2.00
W. Borbeck 1.00
A. Schabenge25
L. Spears 1.00
J. Rhein 1.00
C. Andy50
J. Balazs 3.00
C. Hinkles50
B. Funk50
C. Etchard50
F. Belcrust50
S. Rauzenhofer 1.00
P. C. Tesson 5.00
E. Markley 3.00
E. Johnson 2.00
J. Coulter 1.00
C. Powell50
P. O'Toole 1.00
S. R. Rager 3.00
G. Galespi 1.00
J. Kelley50
H. Kull50
L. Fyack50
P. Wood25
J. Mulvehill50
N. Gerold, Jersey City, N. J. 2.00
M. C. L., New Britain, Conn. 1.00
M. Meyer, Louisville, Ky. 3.00
T. Giffey, Louisville, Ky. 3.00
H. Fischer, Louisville, Ky. 3.00
F. Fischer, Louisville, Ky. 3.00
J. Doyle, Louisville, Ky. 3.00
Section Peoria, Ill. 30.00
P. Dinger, Cleveland, O. 4.50
L. Foth, Cleveland, O. 7.25
Collections by Sec. Cleveland 8.15
G. Finkbuner, Cleveland, O. 5.00
G. Blenkinsdorfer, Cleveland, O. 5.00
P. Hartman, Cleveland, O. 3.00
J. Girke, Cleveland, O. 3.00
J. Johnston, New Haven, Conn. 1.00
H. K., New Haven, Conn. 1.00
M. Stodel, New Haven, Conn. 1.00
P. Jacobson, New Haven, Conn.50
L. Miller, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
H. Tryon, Denver, Col. 1.00
J. Schmid, Sandusky, O. 3.00
P. Bauerle, Hartford, Conn. 2.00
L. Matthews, Hartford, Conn.25
F. Kuenhold, Hartford, Conn. 1.00
T. Sutherland, Hartford, Conn.50
Kesper, Hartford, Conn.50
C. Schulz, Hartford, Conn.50
G. Scharp, Hartford, Conn.25
J. Lambert, Hartford, Conn.25
G. Lunka, Hartford, Conn.50
M. Pegans, Hartford, Conn. 1.00
L. Sterbens, Hartford, Conn.50
F. Keith, Hartford, Conn.50
Mrs. B. Toroff, city 3.00
B. Toroff, city 3.00
T. Walsh, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
C. F. Meier, St. Louis, Mo. 3.00
E. Hertzig, St. Louis, Mo. 5.00
F. Buschmann, St. Louis, Mo. 1.00
B. Kaucher, St. Louis, Mo. 2.00
E. Brendt, St. Louis, Mo. 3.00
A. Kaucher, St. Louis, Mo. 3.00
W. Knight, St. Louis, Mo. 3.00
W. Bilbarrow, St. Louis, Mo. 3.00
G. Danner, St. Louis, Mo. 5.00
R. H. McHugh, St. Charles, Mo. 10.00
G. Ohmen, Denver, Colo. 3.00
Old Timer, Philadelphia, Pa.25

Total\$2,004.15

In the list of January 3d J. Wallenberg and F. Nagler should have been from Springfield, Mass., instead of Chicago, Ill.

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GENERAL ORGANIZER'S FUND.

HEADQUARTERS OF SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, 2-4-6 NEW READE STREET, NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1904.

To All District and Local Alliances, Members at Large and Sympathizers, Greeting:—

In pursuance of the action of the last National Convention of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, the General Executive Board hereby issues a call for voluntary contributions, either in one large amount or in weekly installments, for the purpose of establishing a General Organizer's Fund, this fund to be kept intact and to be used to put and keep in the industrial field a General Organizer, who shall agitate, organize and help in the upbuilding of the Alliance throughout the country.

Any organizations in the S. T. & L. A. that may have an idle fund in their treasuries are urged to place it at the disposal of the G. E. B. for this work, and they shall receive in return the immediate benefit of an organizer. Act quickly. Work must now be pushed and results accomplished. Address all contributions to John J. Kinneally, General Secretary, 2-4-6 New Reade street, New York.

By order General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A. John J. Kinneally, General Secretary.

Previously acknowledged\$65.00
L. A. 342, Cleveland, O. 5.00

Total to date\$70.00

L. A. 379, LAWRENCE, MASS.

Local Alliance 379, S. T. & L. A., Lawrence, Mass., has elected the following officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Gilbert G. Smith; Recording Secretary, Adolphe Decanick; Financial Secretary, Paul Vandorne; Treasurer, Joseph Bedard; Auditing Committee, Julius Vandorne, Auguste Detollenare, Robert Lawson; Agitation Committee, Paul Vandorne, Gilbert G. Smith, Joseph Bedard, Adolphe Decanick, Julius Vandorne, Auguste Detollenare and Bernard Maillet; Delegates to D. A. 10, Gilbert Smith, Robert Lawson and Julius Vandorne.

SECTION PROVIDENCE'S MEETING.

The regular monthly meeting of Section Providence, R. I., was held on December 27, 1903, with Comrade B. J. Murray in the chair. Minutes of last meeting were approved.

Circular No. 4, on "The Party Press," was read and accepted. Financial report blanks were received from S. E. C. The voting blanks sent out by Section New York, asking for \$3 donation, were received and distributed among the members. The financial report of Branches 2 and 4 were read and sent to the Auditing Committee. The resignation of Thomas M. Degman from the S. L. P. was read and laid over to new business.

Reports of Comrade Greene reported that only two branches had made a financial report. Comrade Herick, of Hall Committee, reported visiting several halls. He preferred the one at 98 Waybait street, and stated that any suitable place would cost from \$15 to \$18. Comrade Leach, of the same committee, made substantially the same report.

New Business: Motion that the secretaries of the branches make reports to S. E. C. The resignation of Thomas Degman was taken up, and a motion to accept it passed. Motion that an auditing committee of three be elected to audit the reports of the four branches; passed, and Comrades Keiser, Herick and Leach elected. Motion that we elect a State Committee for the coming year passed, and Comrades Bowers, Herick, McDermott, Murray, O'Neill, Leach, Keiser and Miller were elected. A motion was passed that we leave two vacancies until next meeting, and that Pawtucket and Woonsocket be asked to send in names from those cities. Motion was passed to elect officers for the ensuing year. The election resulted as follows: Organizer, McGugan; treasurer, Gouldsbrensen; financial secretary, D. S. Rowan; recording secretary, O'Garra; Propaganda Committee—A motion was passed constituting this of all the officers of Section; literary agent, Carney.

Motion that the ladies of the Section shall constitute a Ways and Means Committee was passed. Motion that the financial secretaries of the different branches turn over to the financial secretary of the Section all property, stamps and funds Sunday, January 10, at 2:30 p. m., at Textile Hall, Olneyville Square, so as to give Auditing Committee time to make final report at the next meeting of the Section; passed.

Motion that the first month's dues of each new member shall be used to send him The Weekly People, or if he is already a subscriber, to send it to some one whom the new member designates as being in sympathy with the Party, and that we recommend other Sections to do the same; passed. Motion that the Hall Committee be instructed to hire a hall for not more than \$3 per month for not less than two meetings per month.

Motion that the place of the next meeting shall be published in The Daily and Weekly People; passed.

Motion, the organizer send a report of this meeting to our official organ, The People. Organizer.

Providence, R. I., Dec. 27, 1903.

THANKSGIVING DAY CONCERT.

Previously acknowledged\$309.28
Received from M. Heyman, treasurer Entertainment Committee of Section New York \$2.50

Total\$311.78

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